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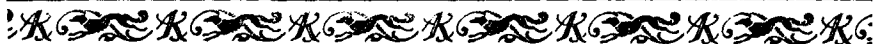
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# *The* AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## The German Forty-Eighters in America: A Centennial Appraisal

CARL WITTKE\*

THE year 1848," in the words of G. M. Trevelyan, "was the turning point at which modern history failed to turn." In that year, Germany was caught up in the great European wave of revolution which swept over the continent in protest against the oppression of the system of Metternich. The revolutionary energy of the German people exploded into action. Professors and students in the universities; the peasantry of southern Germany, eager to destroy the vestiges of medieval feudalism and to escape crushing taxes; the petite bourgeoisie; some of the lower nobility; and the workers, whose ideology already revealed a strong tinge of communism, combined forces in the uprisings of 1848 and 1849.

Begun with great enthusiasm, nurtured in the liberal clubs of the universities, the *Turnvereine*, and the *Arbeitervereine* of the workers, the Revolution of 1848 was dominated by a noble vision of a united and democratic Germany. With endless parading, singing, toasting, and public demonstra-

\*The author is dean of the graduate school and professor of history in Western Reserve University.

tions that suggested picnics rather than a social revolution, the convivial, easygoing South German revolutionaries produced for a time what Veit Valentin aptly called "a comfortable, pleasant anarchy." A romantic movement that was long on ideals and short on practical plans, the revolution fell a quick victim to the bullets and bayonets of Prussian, Russian, and Austrian armies. From the outset it suffered from divided counsels and from a confusion in strategy between the moderates and the radicals. Many of its leaders had a mania for opposition but little talent for organization. The Germans had learned to think but not to act.

St. Paul's Church, symbol of German freedom and home of the famous Frankfurt parliament of 1848, was all but destroyed in the recent war. In the retrospect of history, it may be said that those who met there a century ago lacked both determination and courage to act at a turning point in German history. Yet their demands included elimination of the nobility and the caste system, a bill of rights, and a thorough overhauling of the German educational system. Unfortunately, their deliberations were carried on in an atmosphere of illusions and a dreamland of pure theory.

The victors in 1848 and 1849 were the Prussian Junker and the Hohenzollern king. The first German revolution to come from the people since the Peasant Revolt of Luther's day was choked to death by the forces of a ruthless reaction. The wealthy bourgeoisie were all too ready to compromise with the monarchy; the *Turner* and the students lost themselves in a fantastic romanticism that looked backward and not forward; the peasants and petite bourgeoisie decided to act courageously when it was too late; and the workers were still too unorganized to assume leadership in a genuinely democratic movement.<sup>1</sup>

With the collapse of the liberal movement, so fateful for Germany and the world, a large number of the revolutionists migrated to the United States, many with prison sentences, or worse, hanging over their heads. It would be misleading to say that the majority in the tidal wave of German immigration to America in the last half of the nineteenth century were intellectuals, university graduates, professional men, or members of the higher social classes. They were not. Marcus L. Hansen was quite right in pointing out that the bulk of those who came from southwestern Germany were artisans and peasants who came primarily for economic reasons and to escape the effects of an agricultural revolution which was in progress.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>1</sup> See Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49* (Berlin, 1930); Alexander Abusch, *Der Irrweg einer Nation* (Berlin, 1947), pp. 89-104; and Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen* (Chicago, 1945), chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Marcus L. Hansen, "The Revolutions of 1848 and German Emigration," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II, 630-58.



there were among the German immigrants after 1848 enough intellectuals and political refugees to provide the German immigrant communities in America with the most distinguished leadership they have ever had and to determine their tone, character, and direction for several decades. As a matter of fact, many did not actually come until the early 1850's, but history has labeled them all "Forty-eighters."<sup>3</sup>

The present generation has firsthand knowledge of the refugee problem and of the psychology of the displaced person. The readjustment to a whole new mode of life and scheme of values in a new and strange land is a difficult one indeed, and many never succeed in making it. America provided a sanctuary from Prussian and Austrian bayonets to liberty-loving Germans, but the problem of earning a livelihood remained.

Some of the Forty-eighters, like Friedrich Hecker, moved to western farms and became "Latin farmers," though the percentage was smaller than in the earlier German immigration. Franz Sigel became a teacher and journalist in New York. Hans Kudlich, a leader in the Vienna parliament in the movement to emancipate the peasantry, became a doctor in Hoboken. F. A. Sorge, equally conversant with the doctrines of Marx and the music of Beethoven, gave music lessons. Many turned to journalism, or to law, as soon as they had learned enough English to practice in the courts. Otto Ruppis conducted an orchestra in Nashville, wrote novels about life in America, and founded a journal in St. Louis. Mandrella, erstwhile tribune of the Silesians, ran a beer hall. Joseph Fickler, a newspaper publisher in Constance, opened a restaurant in New York, and Adolf Rösler von Öls, who had moved to abolish the monarchy and the nobility in the Frankfurt parliament, opened a private school. When the Goldmark, Wehle, and Brandeis families embarked at Hamburg in 1849, they sailed with twenty-seven chests, two grand pianos, large collections of books and music, and paintings done in Italy. In the United States, they went into law, medicine, and the grocery and produce business.<sup>4</sup> In many respects, the readjustment of artisans and businessmen was easier than that of the educated and professional classes. Many a former student in the German universities who was able to quote Homer and Vergil in the original swung pick and shovel in the construction gangs that built the American canals and railroads, and many a young actor, musician, or painter became a porter, a waiter, a house painter, a bartender or innkeeper, or even a dancing teacher, during his first critical months in the Promised Land.

Obviously, one cannot treat the German immigration, or even the Forty-

<sup>3</sup> Georg von Skal, *Die Achtundvierziger in Amerika* (Frankfurt a.M., 1923).

<sup>4</sup> Josephine Goldmark, *Pilgrims of '48* (New Haven, 1930).

eighters, as a homogeneous group. They reveal many sociological differences, and the classes represented among them reacted variously to the forces of Americanization. In general, the academic professions were the first to give up their isolation, although there were many exceptions. The artisans and businessmen probably held longest to their German individuality, and those among them who became wealthy helped generously to keep German clubs and cultural activities alive. Some of the Forty-eighters were raw, uncouth adventurers, weaklings and followers, muddle-heads and not leaders. By no means all were intellectual idealists. Generalizations about the Germans are as misleading as those about any other group. In one boardinghouse in Cincinnati, in 1851, there was a former Prussian lieutenant who was angling for a job as bartender, a journalist who turned from running a Protestant school to editing a Catholic newspaper, and a tailor's apprentice who had already tried his luck at being a farmer, a peddler, a schoolteacher, a clerk, a revivalist in Virginia, and who ended by being a respected lawyer in Ohio.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, in stressing the importance of the Forty-eighters, it must not be forgotten that the immigration after 1830 also contained many able and strong leaders, and for years there was friction between the older and the newer group, the "Grays" and the "Greens."

All the larger cities in the United States in the middle of the last century quickly developed typical German communities, with beer gardens, taverns, stores, theatrical and musical organizations, bowling, card and sharpshooting clubs, *Turnvereine*, lodges, and all the other social clubs in which German *Gemütlichkeit* and *Vereinsleben* loved to find expression. A city like Davenport, Iowa, for example, still had thirty-eight such German societies as late as 1890.<sup>6</sup> Though many of these organizations had come into existence before the arrival of the Forty-eighters, they took on new life as a result of the new immigration and accepted the cultural leadership of the recently arrived refugees.<sup>7</sup>

Many Forty-eighters honestly believed that they had a "cultural mission" to perform in their adopted fatherland. They refused to be used as mere "raw material" to build a Yankee nation which they found so disappointing in many respects. Coming at a time when nativism was rampant in the United States, the aggressive spirit of the refugees helped to solidify the German element into a homogeneous, self-conscious group, crystallized their cultural isolation, kept them on the defensive for several decades, and seri-

<sup>5</sup> See Roy Temple House, "Cincinnati Germans, Anno 1851, by Moritz Busch," *American German Review*, IX (October, 1942), 28, 30.

<sup>6</sup> Hildegard Binder Johnson, "German Forty-eighters in Davenport," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, January, 1946, pp. 3-60.

<sup>7</sup> See Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), chap. ix.

ously retarded the normal processes of Americanization. Very few of the refugees had a conscious purpose to Germanize America. Their cultural isolation was largely the result of the accident of events, but they insisted upon preserving their Old World heritage and were openly disdainful of the rawness of an American civilization which seemed to be without music, art, culture, or refinement and to be under the stifling influence of a Puritanism which clashed sharply with their Continental viewpoint. Many of the newcomers stubbornly refused to compromise between the two ways of life and determined to infuse into their new and bleak environment something of the warmth, sociability, culture, and intellectual standards of the old Europe.

The Forty-eighters ridiculed such American habits as rocking in chairs, chewing and spitting tobacco, standing up to a bar to down a drink, getting "eye-openers" each morning, wearing hats crooked, and sticking feet on tables and window sills. They were not impressed by the "anarchical noise" of Fourth of July or firemen's parades, or by the muddy streets, the corrupt shirt-sleeve, tobacco cud politics of the cities, and the "human bull fighting" known as pugilism. They preferred sausage and sauerkraut to pie and pork and beans. They were shocked to find slavery firmly established and nativism rampant in a free republic. They hated American sabbatarianism, blue laws, and "the temperance swindle," and the more radical ridiculed what they called the religious superstitions of the American people. They were determined to preserve their language and customs and to resist assimilation to an inferior culture. In politics, they became "politically hyper-conscious," and the flattery of American politicians, angling for votes, gave them a false sense of importance.<sup>8</sup>

In all of these reactions, one finds the psychology of the frustrated exile who is critical of his new land and filled with nostalgia for the old. The feelings of the newcomers were not improved when native Americans referred to patricians and plebeians alike as "dumb Dutchmen," and papers like the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* remarked that "They left their country for their country's good." With their bearded faces they could easily be singled out from the clean-shaven Americans. Some, like Carl Schurz, resolved from the first to see the better side of America and to become rapidly amalgamated with the American people. Others, like Friedrich Kapp, wrote, "Our home is Europe, resp. Germany, and it is a lie to say we can build a second home . . . one cannot have two fatherlands any more than two fathers . . ."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York, 1940); and Jakob Mueller, *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers* (Cleveland, 1896).

<sup>9</sup> Edith Lenel, *Friedrich Kapp, 1824-1884* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 84, 126, also pp. 75-76. See also, Karl Heinzen's lecture on the Germans and the Americans, in *Teutscher Radikalismus in Amerika* (Boston, 1871), II; Carl Becker, *The United States: An Experiment in Democracy* (New York, 1920), pp. 239-46.

Depressed by their cultural loneliness and the struggle to acquire a status in the New World worthy of their talents, some became more self-assertive and aggressive than they might otherwise have been. They made a point of flaunting their Sunday parades, dances, theater performances, noisy picnics, and beer halls in the face of what they called American Puritanism and "Methodism." They tried to suppress their feeling of maladjustment and inferiority by loudly asserting their German superiority, and the tolerance they demanded for themselves they refused to grant to others.<sup>10</sup> Some of the more extreme and impractical of the discontents actually dreamed of an intellectual conquest of the United States, which would then become the fulcrum for world revolution. In this "storm and stress" period, many an intellectual German refugee wanted to play the role of world reformer, beginning with the United States.

As an exponent of extreme radicalism, Karl Heinzen argued in his *Der Pionier* that the only effective antidote for "the intellectual knownothingism" of the Americans was the leaven of radicalism, based on free inquiry, reason, and science. A "virtuoso of invective," Heinzen was a man of stubborn, uncompromising principle, brilliant, energetic, rigid, often brutal in his attacks, and full of frustrations, but honest and fearless. He hated all orthodoxy except the orthodoxy of his own radicalism. He wanted to advance on all fronts at once—to abolish slavery, establish free homesteads, secure equal rights for women, end American neutrality and isolation, abolish the presidency and Senate and substitute a unicameral legislature, provide for the recall of officeholders, and promote a mass of social legislation, short of communism. Although he was one of the most determined and vocal of the reformers, there were many of his type among the German immigration of the 1850's who met in congresses at Wheeling, Philadelphia, and Louisville, founded a League of Radicals and a Society for the Dissemination of Radical Principles, and proclaimed their doctrines for reordering the world by every means at their command. Some advocated the abolition of marriage and the rearing of children in public institutions; others wanted to abolish the use of money. Joseph Weydemeyer was sent by Marx and Engels to introduce the true Marxian gospel; F. A. Sorge, a Forty-eighter, became general secretary of the American section of the First International; and Wilhelm Weitling, the "philosophical tailor" who had figured prominently in the history of pre-Marxian communism, printed a radical paper in New York, founded a Workingmen's League and called the first German labor congress in American history, and when his program collapsed because of his disastrous invest-

<sup>10</sup> Dieter Cunz, "Rise and Fall of the German Americans in Baltimore," *Common Ground*, Spring, 1947, pp. 61-71.



ments in a communist colony in Iowa, he turned to the study of the stars and a universal language.

Disturbing as such radicals were to the average American, the antagonism of the freethinkers, agnostics, and atheists toward all churches and religion proved even more alarming. Among the Forty-eighters, commented the *North American Review* in 1856, are "too many of those turbulent restless spirits . . . evoked from obscurity by civil commotions. . . . The great majority of the wealthy and educated are atheists or radicals."<sup>11</sup> *Freie Gemeinde* or *Freimännervereine*, independent organizations of the more radical Germans, broke completely with all organized religion, ritual and dogma. They were the products of the rationalist movement in Germany, stimulated by Hegel and Feuerbach, and they were violently anticlerical. Their views ranged all the way from atheism to ethical culture societies, bent on reconciling religion and science. In these societies the members assembled several times a week for study and debate, and many supported physical education clubs, dramatic sections, and German-English schools as part of their educational program.

Unfortunately, the freethinkers quickly developed a sect of their own, carrying their agnosticism to the verge of a new kind of bigotry. The more radical among them loudly denied the existence of a personal god and denounced religion as superstition, a figment of the imagination and an opiate for the people. A materialist like Heinzen argued that man's "moral sense" was a quality of his nature and derived from his material environment. Believing wholeheartedly in the law of progress, yet finding no divine process in history, men of this persuasion regarded "not faith, but doubt" as "the divining rod of truth." They openly attacked Christianity as "the highest grade of humbug"; they were particularly violent against Catholics, without sparing the Protestants; they regularly celebrated the birthday of Thomas Paine as a protest against Puritan bigotry and asceticism and further aroused their fellow Americans by organizing cremation societies.

Many of the freethinkers adhered strictly to a stern code of personal conduct in their search for truth, beauty, and justice, but their complete intolerance, rude manners, and lack of tact deeply offended their American neighbors, and a majority of the Germans as well, who were Catholics or Protestants, or at least benevolently neutral in controversies of this nature. Among the most flagrant offenders against good taste was a German saloon-keeper in New York who erected a pulpit in his place of business, from which he parodied religious themes each Sunday to the amusement of some

<sup>11</sup> LXXXII, 266.

of his customers, but even such a moderate and scholarly Forty-eighter as Friedrich Kapp concluded that America "will occupy a decidedly higher place as soon as it gets rid of Christianity."<sup>12</sup>

These were the views of a small but vocal minority. Fortunately, the majority of the Germans fitted more normally into the American pattern, or at least were content to go their own way without challenging the beliefs and habits of others. They preferred their societies and their social pleasures to such violent excursions into the field of religion, philosophy, and science. As Frederika Bremer reported from Wisconsin in 1850, "their music and dances and other popular pleasures distinguish them from the Anglo-American people, who, particularly in the West, have no other pleasures than 'business,'" and "must not amuse themselves [on Sunday], not even in God's beautiful scenery."<sup>13</sup> The region "over the Rhine" in Cincinnati was noted for its music, good restaurants, and fine German bakeries. In most of the larger cities, the Forty-eighters gathered at their favorite beer halls to drink their beer and engage in discussion and debate. An iconoclast like Heinzen referred to Milwaukee as the city of the philistines, where grown-up men played in *Turnvereine*, sharpshooting and card clubs, and, with the "insane humbug" of lodges, appeared "with aprons around their bellies and blindfolds over their eyes," but the bulk of the Germans were quite pleased with such organizations, which gave them the opportunity to satisfy their gregarious instincts.

Among the most popular and important of these social clubs were the *Turnvereine*, which stressed both physical culture and opposition to oppression of every kind, whether political or ecclesiastical. The *Turner* movement had originated in Germany during the wars of liberation against Napoleon, and it is not surprising that Friedrich Hecker, the greatest popular hero of 1848, should have established the first *Turnverein* in America. The movement spread rapidly from Cincinnati, under the stimulus of Forty-eighters who had belonged to *Turnvereine* in Germany. In the fall of 1850 the societies held their first convention, and the delegates divided sharply on the relative importance of gymnastics and socialism. The Baltimore society had its own newspaper by 1850, and Davenport, with a population of 3,400 in 1852, supported a socialist *Turnverein* with a library of over two thousand items. Many societies founded rifle corps, still hoping that revolution would break out again in the fatherland. Others supported nonsectarian schools and reading rooms. While it was true that there was a lot of "student drinking" and

<sup>12</sup> Lenel, p. 118.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in J. H. A. Lacher, *The German Element in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1925), p. 41.

childish display of physical prowess in the activities of the *Turner*, it was also true that their halls were the scene of serious discussions of all kinds of political and social reforms, along socialist lines, and that their societies remained centers of radical thought until well after the Civil War.<sup>14</sup>

The German theater, before 1848, was on a rather low level, and frequently theatrical performances had to be made more appealing by combining them with dances and free beer. It was the Forty-eighters who brought about a virtual renaissance in the German-American theater. The light comedies of earlier days gave way to the classical dramas of Schiller, Lessing, Goethe, and Shakespeare, not only in the larger cities of the East but also in many a smaller town of the Middle West. In Davenport, the plays of the German masters were regularly presented, and in New Orleans Schiller was as popular as in the North. In Cincinnati, Friedrich Hassaurek, one of the most prominent of the radical refugees, joined with his colleagues of the *Freimännerverein* to found *Das Deutsche Institut*, which presented plays four times a week until 1861. In many other places, local amateur groups invited visiting stars from abroad to strengthen their performances.

The contribution of the Germans to American music is so universally recognized that it need not be detailed here, except to point out that the coming of the Forty-eighters was decisive in this respect also. It must be remembered that the music of frontier America consisted mostly of dance tunes played on several fiddles, by fiddlers whose ambition seemed to be to play fast rather than well and who knew nothing about harmony. With the Germans came the music of the great Continental masters, and they carried their appreciation of Beethoven and Mozart even to the remotest fringe of settlement.

Schurz and Sigel were good musicians. Singing societies existed before the Forty-eighters came, but the latter did much to improve their repertoire. In their annual *Sängerfeste* they competed for prizes for choral singing; some owned their own halls and employed distinguished German musicians as their directors. The Milwaukee *Musikverein*, as early as 1850, performed oratorios and operas under the baton of Hans Balatka, a Bohemian German, and traveled to the small towns of Wisconsin to bring good music to people who came in oxcarts to hear their performances. Carl Bergmann, who had conducted orchestras in some of the leading centers of Europe, came to New York in 1849 because of his implication in the revolution and joined the Germania Orchestra, which consisted almost wholly of Forty-eighters.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Metzner, *A Brief History of the American Turnerbund* (Pittsburgh, 1924); Augustus J. Prahl, "History of the German Gymnastic Movement of Baltimore," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, *26th Report* (1945), pp. 16-29.

Later, Bergmann directed the New York Philharmonic. The Germania Orchestra gave eight hundred concerts in six years, and it was this organization that first played the Beethoven Ninth in Boston. Carl Zerrahn, its flutist, directed the Boston Handel and Haydn Society for forty years. Thomas Nast, father of the famous cartoonist, was a member of the Philharmonic. Otto Dresel, who arrived in 1848, was for more than fifteen years Boston's foremost resident pianist.

The contributions of the Forty-eighters to the development of the arts and crafts in the United States are so many and various that only a few examples can be given here. Louis Prang, a refugee of 1848, introduced chromolithographing in this country. Julius Bien, trained in the art institutes of Cassel and Frankfurt, became a map engraver and lithographer in New York, made the major geological and geographical maps for the government for many years and produced the 151 plates for Audubon's *Birds of America*, one of the earliest prints of an American baseball game, and the 175 plates for the atlas for the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* issued by the War Department in the 1890's.<sup>15</sup> Frederick Girsch, another Forty-eighter, made engravings for American bank notes and fractional currency. Henry Flad, graduate of the University of Munich, was one of the construction engineers for the Erie Railroad and planned the water supply for St. Louis. Rudolf Eickemeyer, educated in the Polytechnic Institute of Darmstadt, revolutionized the hatmaking industry through his inventions and recommended Charles P. Steinmetz to the General Electric Company. John Michael Maisch had charge of the laboratory where medical supplies were prepared for the Union Army in 1863. Charles Theodore Mohr published nearly a hundred papers on botanical subjects, and Ignatz Anton Pilat helped design New York's Central Park. Every one of these men had left their native land because of the Revolution of 1848.

Among the Forty-eighters were a number of medical men who had been trained for their profession in the European universities. Joseph Goldmark was an assistant physician in the Vienna General Hospital when he took to the barricades. When he arrived in New York, after his unsuccessful experience with revolution against the Habsburgs, he found medical education and practice in the United States in a deplorable state, the teaching of science still in its infancy, and "not a single eminent physiologist . . . and few biologists." He hung out a shingle and became a specialist in skin diseases.<sup>16</sup> Gustav Brühl, an emigré of the widest cultural interests, practiced medicine in Cincinnati, and taught at the Miami Medical College. Eduard Dorsch,

<sup>15</sup> See Martin W. Wiesendanger, "Lithographic Lives," *Am. Ger. Rev.*, IX, 7-10.

<sup>16</sup> Goldmark, p. 248.

educated in Munich and in the Vienna hospitals, and a surgeon in the South German Revolution, practiced in Michigan and wrote German lyrics as an avocation. Edward Morwitz opened a dispensary for the poor in Philadelphia in 1852. Dr. Philipp F. Weigel served as surgeon general for Missouri during the Civil War; Adalbert J. Volk became a teacher of dental surgery in Baltimore in 1851; and Dr. Karl Hartmann, erstwhile revolutionist and medical student at Cologne, practiced in Cleveland with Georg Langsdorff, a Forty-eighter who was killed in the Civil War. Abraham Jacobi, the son of poor Westphalian Jewish parents, with a medical degree from Bonn, was a defendant in one of the early communist trials and spent two years in prison. Finally escaping to America via England, he started to practice in the tenement-house sections of New York, for fees of twenty-five and fifty cents. He held the first chair of pediatrics in the United States and founded the *American Journal of Obstetrics*.

Many Forty-eighters established bilingual private schools and under the influence of the pedagogical theories of Friedrich Froebel helped start the kindergarten movement in the United States.<sup>17</sup> In Baltimore, Wilhelm Müller taught in the private school supported by the local *Turner* society, and "F. Knapp's German and English Institute," was one of the best schools in Maryland. Its founder had been convicted of high treason in 1850.<sup>18</sup> The Forty-eighter who founded the largest brewery in Iowa left \$10,000 to the "Free German School" of Davenport. Franz Sigel taught in St. Louis for a time, Otto Ruppis in Milwaukee, and Peter Engelmann founded the "German-English Academy" in the same city, offering instruction from the elementary grades to the Gymnasium. Many of these private schools were adjuncts of the *Turnvereine*, which also furnished many of the physical education teachers for the public schools. The German private school movement died out by the end of the century partly because of the waning influence of the Forty-eighters and the inability to recruit teachers, comparable in quality to the earlier refugees.<sup>19</sup>

Even more significant from the point of view of the leadership of the German-American group was the activity of the refugees in the field of journalism. German-language papers were in existence in the United States before 1848, and a few were journals of distinction, but a new flowering began in the early 1850's. Radical papers sprang up as weeklies and monthlies in all the leading cities, edited in most cases by highly intelligent men of considerable talent and education and with domineering personalities. They

<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Jenkins, "Froebel's Disciples in America," *Am. Ger. Rev.*, III, 15-18.

<sup>18</sup> Dieter Cunz, "The Baltimore Germans and the Year 1848," *ibid.*, X, 30-33.

<sup>19</sup> For another example of the influence of the Forty-eighters, see Henry Pochmann, "The Hegelization of the West," *ibid.*, IX, 24-31, 37.

raised the level of German-American journalism notably and at the same time added greatly to its controversial nature. The German-language press has been more productive and influential than that of any other immigrant group, and for a time the rationalists, radicals, freethinkers, agnostics, and atheists among the Forty-eighters controlled half the German newspapers in this country. This was the era of personal journalism, and the refugees furnished the leadership necessary to make the liberal tradition an active force in German-American politics. Their feuds were many and furious, and their style often raw and abusive, but never again was the German element in the United States so well organized politically as in the decades immediately preceding and following the Civil War.

The number of leaders in the field of journalism is legion. One may begin with Dr. Adolf Douai, who published a liberal paper in San Antonio, and Gustav Struve, an unstable, romantic but honest, extreme republican, who issued several *Deutsche Zuschauer*. Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, who had been imprisoned in Germany, founded the Baltimore *Wecker* in 1853, wrote a play about Cromwell, and poems (*Totenkränze*) in memory of the martyrs of 1848.<sup>20</sup> Rudolf Lexow, from Schleswig-Holstein, founded the *New Yorker Belletristisches Journal*, which as late as the 1880's, had a circulation of 71,500. The Cleveland *Wächter am Erie* was launched by selling eighty shares of stock at five dollars a share, and Heinrich Rochotte, who had commanded a company in 1848, began printing his new paper on the press of the *Plain Dealer*. Albert Wolff, sentenced to death in 1848, escaped to serve on the staff of the St. Paul *Minnesota Staatszeitung* for forty years. Hermann Raster, a parliamentary stenographer in 1848, edited, in turn, the Buffalo *Demokrat*, the *New Yorker Abendzeitung* and the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, contributed to *Appleton's Encyclopedia*, and became a power in the Republican party. George Schneider and Lorenz Brentano, the latter provisional governor of Baden in 1849, were part owners of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*. Caspar Butz, abolitionist and poet of freedom, published the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Monatsheft für Politik, Wissenschaft und Literatur*, to which many Forty-eighters contributed regularly. Reinhold Solger, a fugitive with a Ph.D. from Greifswald, was an outstanding journalist who delivered a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston in 1857 and 1859.<sup>21</sup> Oswald Ottendorfer, who had fought with the revolutionists in 1848, converted the old, conservative, Democratic *New Yorker Staatszeitung* into an

<sup>20</sup> A. E. Zucker, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffer," Soc. Hist. Germans in Maryland, 24th Report (1939), pp. 2-8; and Cunz, in *Am. Ger. Rev.*, X, 30-33; and *id.*, "Carl Heinrich Schnauffers Litterarische Versuche," Modern Language Association, *Proceedings* (June, 1944), LIX, 524-39.

<sup>21</sup> Milton A. Dickie, "Reinhold Solger" (University of Pittsburgh dissertation, 1930); and A. E. Zucker, "Reinhold Solger," Soc. Hist. Germans in Maryland, 24th Report (1939), pp. 8-16.



important daily which has survived to the present time. Among the most radical German papers were Friedrich Hassaurek's *Hochwächter* of Cincinnati, which thundered against priestcraft and dogmatism of every kind; Weitling's *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, a communist labor paper; and Heinen's *Pionier*, one of the best of the radical press, featuring articles on science and philosophy, literature and art, poetry and opera, and at the same time waging a violent newspaper war on all the issues of the day. Finally, as an example of female journalism among the radicals, Mathilde Franziska Anneke must be mentioned. The fiery feminist, who had ridden into battle as her husband's mounted orderly in 1848, became a co-worker with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in the crusade for woman's rights and published a journal for women (*Frauenzeitung*) in Milwaukee.<sup>22</sup>

The role of the Germans in the politics of the 1850's and the Civil War era need not be reviewed again in detail.<sup>23</sup> Although nativism and free homesteads were as important as the slavery question for the majority of the German element, who were neither radical abolitionists nor radical reformers, it was their spokesmen, many of them Forty-eighters, who led them from their traditional allegiance to the party of Jefferson and Jackson into the New Republican camp.

Schurz, Hecker, Struve, and others sat in the Republican convention which nominated Fremont in 1856, and they and Kapp and Hassaurek campaigned for him among the Germans. Reinhold Solger helped to build the new party in the East, as Schurz did in the West. Kapp and others attended the gathering of German Republicans in Chicago in 1860 from which the famous "Dutch Plank" in the party platform emanated. Schurz was a member of the Republican National Committee, in charge of its foreign department. Even so sedate a New Englander as Charles Francis Adams found it necessary to drink three glasses of lager beer at a brewery, while campaigning in Minnesota, because its German owner "is inclining to Republicanism" and "we felt afraid to decline his civility."<sup>24</sup>

The Germans enlisted in the Civil War in numbers which exceeded the proportion that might have been expected. Many Forty-eighters, like Schurz, Sigel, Osterhaus, Hecker, Schimmelpfennig, and Jacobi, held commissions in the Union Army.<sup>25</sup> In 1863 and 1864, the more radical German leaders met in Cleveland to oppose Lincoln's renomination and to advocate a more

<sup>22</sup> Anna Bloss, *Die Frauen der Deutschen Revolution von 1848* (n.p., 1928).

<sup>23</sup> See Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born in the Northwest in the Election of 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX, 192-204; and W. E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," *American Historical Review*, XVI, 774-88.

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Theodore C. Blegen, *Grass Roots History* (Minneapolis, 1947), p. 225.

<sup>25</sup> See Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (Munich, 1911).

severe program toward the South and for the advancement of the Negro. Butz and Heinzen were the most important in this radical rebellion against the President; Schurz, Kapp, Solger, Brentano, and the majority of the Forty-eighters, supported him for re-election.

The war record of the Germans greatly speeded their amalgamation with their fellow Americans, for their sacrifices on the battlefield quieted even the nativists, and their efforts in defense of the Union gave them a real sense of belonging to the American enterprise. Now they were entitled to consideration for political jobs, both elective and appointive, and each administration, beginning with Lincoln's, paid its debt to the German element by distributing political spoils among their leaders. Although the German group was mobilized on several issues, like sound money and civil service, and the aged Schurz, in 1900, made a final appeal to combat American imperialism, it was evident by this time that the influence of the Forty-eighters was no longer significant.

Time had taken its toll among them, but more important, perhaps, was the effect of the unification of Germany in 1871. The brilliant victories of the Germans over the French, and the rise of the Bismarckian empire, proved strong wine for German-American heads. August Willich, erstwhile communist, had offered to fight in 1870 for the land which had exiled him. Fritz Anneke, chief of artillery in 1848, was convinced that history meant Germany to be unified before she became free. The German-American press almost without exception, assured their readers that the kaiser would build a free Germany. Kapp and Ruppius went home, to be reintegrated with the new regime. The vast majority of Forty-eighters did not, though Schurz had an audience with Bismarck in 1872. Sigel refused to join in a birthday celebration for the kaiser, who as king of Prussia had shot down his comrades at Rastatt. Heinzen poured his bitterest invective on Germans like Kapp who now talked of being "citizens of two worlds." He refused to bow the knee to the Iron Chancellor, denounced German chauvinism as worse than French, and ridiculed Schurz and the other Forty-eighters for their "sentimental servility" to a fatherland which had forced them into exile, and a kaiser on whose fingers "there still sticks the blood of the martyrs of 1848-49." But these were the voices of a small, unregenerate minority of radical republicans, and they were virtually ostracized by their fellow Germans. Everywhere the German element gathered in peace celebrations, as *Turner* and singers marched in great parades, with floats depicting the various stages in Germany's evolution into a strong, Hohenzollern empire.

Such reactions, even on the part of Forty-eighters, are not surprising. To

their last days, with the burning homesickness of the refugee for his fatherland, they had clung passionately to their lost homeland, even though Germany had completely forgotten them, and her great nationalist historian, Treitschke, referred only to the "passing intoxication" of the "mad year" of 1848. Some of the Forty-eighters, even amid the festivals and victory celebrations of 1871 felt some disappointment because unification had not come by way of a democratic republic but by "blood and iron," yet they clung to the belief that "history wishes it otherwise."

Thus liberalism yielded to nationalism and national pride. The character of the German immigration changed greatly after 1870, and the leadership once exercised by the Forty-eighters passed into other hands. With the passing of these men and women who had been true heirs of the liberal tradition of Kant, Fichte, Schiller, and Feuerbach ended the flowering time of German culture in the United States.

# Richard Price and the Constitution of the United States

CARL B. CONE\*

HISTORIANS have agreed that the men who made the Constitution drew their inspirations and ideas from various historical and contemporary sources apart from the American background. The Amphychtonic League, the Swiss Confederation, the British Constitution, the acts of great lawgivers from Solon onwards, the ideas of philosophers from Aristotle to the "great Sidney" and Montesquieu, all these and many others were the materials that were molded by certain "interested" groups in the thirteen states into a constitutional system for the United States. That the Constitution was the product of both historical and contemporary experience is beyond cavil, and even the economic interpretation does not seek to vitiate the influence of history and of European political thought upon the men who, perhaps motivated by personal and private considerations, made the Constitution.

There is one English philosopher whose influence appears to have been overlooked. He is Dr. Richard Price. The standard works do not indicate that he contributed to the formation of the Constitution. Warren, for example, frequently mentions Price, but only as an interested observer who, by means of correspondence with various Americans, was keeping in touch with the progress of American affairs.<sup>1</sup> The American histories give no assessment of Price's influence upon American leaders, but I believe it can be shown that he did contribute to their thinking about the Constitution. How much influence he had cannot be determined with mathematical computations, any more than one can determine the exact extent of the influence of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, yet who would deny the significance of Paine's pamphlet? If pressed, therefore, one cannot say more than that Price's ideas had "some" effect upon the men in America who were cognizant of them. For this reason it is improper to omit Price from the lists of those who raised an effective voice, foreign but friendly, in behalf of a stronger and more perfect Union.

Can it be shown that men in America would pay heed to Price? Who was

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Warren, *The Making of the Constitution* (Boston, 1928), pp. 27 and n. 2, 58, n. 4, 87, 90, 108 and n. 1, 157, 374. George Bancroft's *History of the Formation of the Constitution* (6th ed.; New York, 1903) though a mine for information, does not mention Price except as the recipient of a letter from Washington.

he, what had he written or done, whom did he know, what was the content of his thought? Richard Price (1723–1791) was a dissenting clergyman with Arian proclivities.<sup>2</sup> He came to London from his native Wales in 1740 after the deaths of his parents. His uncle, Samuel Price, who took him in hand, was a dissenting clergyman, long associated with Isaac Watts. Richard attended Coward's Academy, and after completing his formal education in 1744 he became the chaplain of a private family, at the same time assisting in several dissenting churches in London. In 1770 he became morning preacher at the Gravel-Pit Meeting House in Hackney and evening preacher in the church at Newington Green. He gave up the pastorate in Newington Green in 1783, but he remained at the Gravel-Pit almost to the time of his death. Though he was not a great pulpit orator, his sincerity and earnestness, the high moral tone of his sermons and his purity of mind and demeanor made him one of the most respected and loved of all the dissenting clergy; his political activities in favor of America and later of the French Revolution made him an object of hatred and abuse to the embittered and panicky politicians of the time.

Price wrote upon a great variety of subjects besides theology and earned a considerable reputation as an authority in several branches of knowledge. His fame was (as the academician once said) not only national but international. His first book, entitled *A Review of the principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals*, appeared in 1758. It was one of the important books of the century on that subject, and a third edition was brought out in 1787.<sup>3</sup> During the next decade Price's writings were almost entirely of a religious character, although he was engaged in private studies that were soon to establish his reputation in other fields of learning. One of these works on religion, called *Four Dissertations*, earned him the friendship of Hume and Lord Shelburne. It first appeared in 1767 and the fifth edition came out twenty years after Price's death. There can be no doubt that the third of these dissertations, called "On the Reasons for expecting that virtuous Men shall meet after Death in a State of Happiness," is the one referred to by Timothy Pickering, who, in writing to cheer up James McHenry on his deathbed, said, "In a volume of dissertations by Dr. Price, there is one on the happiness of those who were friends in this world, meeting together in another. It is a most pleasing, cheering & animating discourse."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> There are two biographies of Price, both inadequate: William Morgan, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S.* (London, 1815); Roland Thomas, *Richard Price, Philosopher and Apostle of Liberty* (London, 1924).

<sup>3</sup> Hastings Rashdall, *The Theory of Good and Evil* (2d ed.; London, 1924), I, 80–81 n., says of this work, "I regard [it] as the best work published on Ethics till quite recent times. It contains the gist of the Kantian doctrine without Kant's confusions."

<sup>4</sup> Pickering to McHenry, June 9, 1813, Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 603–604.

In the 1760's Price's circle of acquaintances grew steadily larger. It is not known precisely when he first met Benjamin Franklin, but they were close friends by 1767. Two years earlier Price had been elected to membership in the Royal Society, and in all he published ten articles in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Society. One of these, in 1769, called "Observations on the Expectations of Lives . . .," was later published as the first essay in a notable book that was of great significance in the history of mortality tables and in the development of life insurance. It was called *Observations on Reversionary Payments; on Schemes for providing Annuities for Widows, and for Persons in Old Age; on The Method of Calculating the Values of Assurances on Lives; and on The National Debt*. The first edition appeared in 1771, the seventh edition, in two volumes, in 1812. Immediately upon the publication of this book Price was ranked as an expert in the science of life insurance, annuities, and vital statistics. Not only was he much sought after in England to give assistance to various annuity societies but his fame spread also to America. In Congress Price's tables were considered authoritative, and Alexander Hamilton used them as the basis of calculations for the settlement of soldiers' claims.<sup>5</sup> In 1785 a group of Massachusetts clergy and Harvard faculty members sought Price's advice on the establishment of an annuity scheme for widows, particularly on the matter of rates of mortality among clergy and professors.<sup>6</sup> Passing to public finance and the question of the national debt, in 1772 there appeared Price's *An Appeal to the Public, on the Subject of the National Debt*, the fourth edition of which came out in 1777. In this little book Price took a gloomy view of the disastrous consequences of a heavy burden of debt upon a nation. He also expounded upon the merits of a sinking fund as a means of steadily reducing a national debt. In 1786 Pitt called Price into consultation when the new sinking fund scheme was established in England.<sup>7</sup> Great as Price's reputation came to be in England as an authority upon public finance, it was no greater than that which he enjoyed in America. One of Price's regular correspondents in America, the Reverend Charles Chauncy of Boston, wrote to him in 1774 that he believed Price had clearly pointed out the way a nation could avoid sinking under a weight of debt, and Chauncy went on to say that others to whom he had shown the pamphlet agreed with him.<sup>8</sup> Many other American leaders must

<sup>5</sup> See debates of Jan. 25, 1783, and Feb. 4, 1783, *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-37), XXV (1783), 863, 865, and 889.

<sup>6</sup> "Price Letters," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 330-34, 346-47; 3d series, XLIII (1910), 619-25. As late as January 15, 1791, men were still reading Price's work. William Maclay entered in his journal for that day, "This was a very disagreeable day. I stayed at home and read Price on Annuities. I find he established an opinion which I had long entertained that women are longer-lived than men." Edgar S. Maclay, ed., *The Journal of William Maclay* (New York, 1927), p. 359.

<sup>7</sup> J. Holland Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival* (London, 1911), pp. 189-95.

<sup>8</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 266-67.

have shared Chauncy's opinion, for in 1778 there came to Price one of the most signal marks of recognition that any nation has ever bestowed upon a citizen of another.

On October 6, 1778, Congress passed the following motion:

that the Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and John Adams, esq., or any of them, be ordered forthwith to apply to Dr. Price, and inform him that it is the desire of Congress to consider him as a citizen of the United States, and to receive his assistance in regulating their finances; that, if he shall think it expedient to remove with his family to America and afford such assistance, a generous provision shall be made for requiring his services.<sup>9</sup>

The commissioners conveyed the request to Price, offering to pay his expenses and give him all other aid he might need.<sup>10</sup> Arthur Lee wrote a separate letter to Price urging him to accept.<sup>11</sup> Price wrote a letter of declination to Lee, giving his reasons for refusing the offer, and expressing his hopes that "British America may preserve its liberty, set an example of moderation and magnanimity, and establish such forms of government, as may render it an *asylum* for the virtuous and oppressed in other countries."<sup>12</sup> Price sent his official reply to Franklin, saying that he was not qualified to give the assistance asked for, that he had too many ties compelling him to stay in England, and besides, he was fast approaching the "evening of life." Nonetheless he was grateful to Congress, and he asked Franklin to tell that body "that Dr. Price feels the warmest gratitude for the notice taken of him, and that he looks to the American States, as *now* the hope, and likely *soon* to become the refuge of mankind."<sup>13</sup>

Since the beginning of the controversy between England and the colonies Price had been an interested spectator, and he had kept in close touch with a number of Americans by means of letters. He also had personal contacts with Americans who were in London during the years preceding the Revolution, among them Franklin and Josiah Quincy, jr., who was in London during the winter of 1774-1775. From the start of the quarrel Price's sympathies had lain with the Americans, and finally, after the outbreak of hostilities, he became an active friend of the American cause. He conveyed information to some members of Parliament who favored America.<sup>14</sup> He likewise passed on secrets to America, and had a number (176) assigned to him for use in

<sup>9</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XII, 984-85.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850-56), VII, 71.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 71-72, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Jared Sparks, ed., *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1829-30), II, 222-24.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 64-65.

<sup>14</sup> Price to Josiah Quincy Jr., April or May, 1775, *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 288.



correspondence.<sup>15</sup> This espionage work was probably of little significance. A far greater service could be contributed by Price's pen.

In February, 1776, there appeared in London a pamphlet by Richard Price entitled *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*. Few pamphlets of the eighteenth century were so widely read, so lavishly praised, or so bitterly condemned. Within two months fourteen editions had appeared in London and over 60,000 copies had been sold. Price sacrificed profits by consenting to allow cheaper issues of the later editions. The pamphlet was also published in French in Rotterdam, in German in Braunschweig, and in Dutch in Leyden. Other editions appeared in Dublin and Edinburgh. The city of London presented Price with the freedom of the city, in a gold box worth fifty pounds. In America the pamphlet was as big a sensation. Two issues appeared in Philadelphia, and others were made in New York, Boston, and Charleston. It is no exaggeration to say that as a result of the pamphlet "Dr. Price's name was in everybody's mouth."<sup>16</sup> In 1777 Price published a second work on American affairs, called *Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty, and the War with America . . .*, and in the year after that he brought out the two pamphlets in a new edition entitled *Two Tracts on Civil Liberty . . .*, for which he wrote a general introduction.

Price's views were not original and they followed fairly closely the natural rights philosophy of the time. His political thought was an extension of his moral philosophy since for him the power to act as a self-determining agent was the test of all liberty—physical, moral, religious, and civil. Civil liberty existed when civil society governed itself by laws of its own making, and, as Price saw it, the Americans did not enjoy that liberty. Along with the expression of the right of a people to govern and tax themselves by means of a legislature elected by and responsible to them, went the assertion of the sovereignty of the people and therefore of the right of revolution.

If these pamphlets made Price famous in America they made him a marked man in England. At least thirty-five replies were written to refute Price's views.<sup>17</sup> Price's friends began to fear for his safety. Mrs. Price became so alarmed and fearful that government agents would search the house and seize their goods that parcels for Price were delivered to the home of Thomas Rogers, the father of the poet Samuel Rogers and a member of Price's con-

<sup>15</sup> *Silas Deane Papers*, New York Historical Society Collections (New York, 1887-91), I, 486, 496.

<sup>16</sup> Peter W. Clayden, *The Early Life of Samuel Rogers* (London, 1887), p. 34. This statement, by an Englishman, refers only to England.

<sup>17</sup> See Thomas, pp. 179-82, for a list.



gregation.<sup>18</sup> Franklin wrote to John Winthrop, also a friend of Price, on May 1, 1777, that Price was in good health but his friends were "under some apprehensions from the violence of government, in consequence of his late excellent publications in favor of liberty."<sup>19</sup> Something of the spirit of the times is caught in an entry in John Wesley's *Journal* for April 4, 1776. "I began an Answer to that dangerous Tract, Dr. Price's 'Observations upon Liberty'; which, if practised, would overturn all government, and bring in universal anarchy."<sup>20</sup>

In 1779 Price spoke what he thought was his valedictory on politics in his sermon of February 10, a day of general fast. Henceforth he avoided public discussion of the American Revolution. But honors continued to come to him. On April 24, 1781, the Yale Corporation voted to confer the LL.D. degree upon George Washington and Richard Price.<sup>21</sup> On January 30, 1782, he was voted a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston.<sup>22</sup> On January 22, 1785, he was made a fellow of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.<sup>23</sup> During these years Price maintained a large correspondence with many notable persons in America, among them Franklin; Benjamin Rush; Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College; John Wheelock, president of Dartmouth College; Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis professor of divinity at Harvard; James Bowdoin, governor of Massachusetts; the Reverend William White of Pennsylvania; and Thomas Jefferson. While John Adams was in London as American minister he and Price spent much time together, and later Adams wrote to him, "There are few portions of my life that I recollect with more entire satisfaction than the hours I spent at Hackney, under your ministry, and in private society, and conversation with you at other places."<sup>24</sup>

So during the years after the Revolution Price maintained his interest in and concern with the affairs of America, and was kept fully informed of the events that were taking place in the new nation. Surely, from what has been said, it is clear that Price was held in high esteem by the leaders of American intellectual and political life, and that whatever he wrote about American affairs would gain a respectful hearing among Americans. Even his sermons were widely read in the United States. In 1788 there was printed in Philadelphia an edition of his *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine as*

<sup>18</sup> Caroline E. Williams, *A Welsh Family* (London, 1893), p. 57.

<sup>19</sup> Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1844), VIII, 214-15.

<sup>20</sup> John Emory, ed., *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A.M.* (New York, 1850), IV, 450.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas, p. 93, who corrects the date given in the *D.N.B.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup> Adams to Price, May 20, 1789, Adams, IX, 558.

*received by the Different Denominations of Christians.* The names of the subscribers are particularly revealing, and the listing of their names is quite relevant to the discussion of the book he had written in 1784 about the affairs of the United States. Among these names appear those of eleven delegates to the Constitutional Convention who actually attended the sessions, and the names of the wives of two others. Those marked with an asterisk signed the Constitution.

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In his *Additional Observations* Price had referred to the dismissal of Turgot from the service of Louis XVI as being caused in part by Turgot's "want of address." Turgot at once wrote to Price explaining the true reasons for his dismissal, and in later editions of the work Price deleted the phrase to which Turgot had taken exception.<sup>25</sup> This incident marked the beginning of a correspondence between the two men that continued until the death of Turgot. On March 22, 1778, Turgot wrote to Price thanking him for the new edition of the works on civil liberty (probably the composite edition called *Two Tracts*) that Price had sent to him via Franklin, and expressing gratitude for the deletion Price had made.<sup>26</sup> In the letter Turgot went on to express some of his fears and objections aroused by the new state constitutions in America.<sup>27</sup> At the end of the letter, Turgot said that America was still in a period of great difficulties and needed the advice of enlightened men, and he urged Price to be one of those who should "join their reflections to those of wise Americans. . . . This would be well worthy of you, Sir; it has been my desire to excite your zeal."<sup>28</sup>

During the next several years Price, as we have noticed, continued to

<sup>25</sup> Mirabeau, *Considerations on the order of Cincinnatus; To which are added, as well several original papers relative to that institution, As also A Letter from the late M. Turgot, . . . To Dr. Price, on the Constitutions of America; and an Abstract of Dr. Price's Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution . . .* (London, 1785), p. 153, n. 1; Richard Price, *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, and the means of making it a Benefit to the World* (Boston, 1784), pp. 71-72.

<sup>26</sup> W. Walker Stephens, *The Life and Writings of Turgot* (London, 1895), p. 296.

<sup>27</sup> It was this letter, first published by Price in his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution . . .* (1784) that provoked John Adams, in part, to write his book entitled *A Defense of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America* (1787-88).

<sup>28</sup> Stephens, pp. 303-304.

study the affairs of America, but his writings were confined to theology and philosophy, public finance and population studies. What prompted Price finally to write a book about American affairs, apart from his own concern and the by then remote appeal of Turgot, is not known. Morgan, Price's nephew and biographer, gives the impression that the solicitation of Benjamin Rush was the urging Price needed.<sup>29</sup> Morgan erred for two reasons. The letter of Rush that he cites was written on May 25, 1786, by which time Price's pamphlet of advice had already appeared. Moreover, Rush was asking Price to write a pamphlet upon education, and Morgan missed that point altogether. Rush wrote, "I wish to see this idea inculcated by your pen. Call upon the rulers of our country to lay the foundations of their empire in *knowledge* as well as virtue. . . . You must not desert us. . . . A small pamphlet addressed by you to the Congress, and the legislature of each of the States, upon this subject [schools], I am sure would have more weight with our rulers than an hundred publications thrown out by the citizens of this country."<sup>30</sup> This statement is significant, however, as a testimony of the influence anything written by Price might have in America.<sup>31</sup>

Early in the year 1784 Price began to compose a pamphlet concerning America. On April 6 he wrote to Franklin, "Indeed I look upon the revolution there [in America] as one of the most important events in the history of the world. . . . I have been lately employing myself in writing *sentiments of caution and advice*, which I mean to convey to them as a last offering of my good-will." Price ended by saying he could not be satisfied without offering this counsel, although he insisted that what he said would not be worth much, nor have great influence.<sup>32</sup> Price conceived the idea of adding Turgot's letter of 1778 as a supplement, but he hesitated because Turgot had written in the margin of that letter a charge of secrecy.<sup>33</sup> Yet he had the proof run off and then sent it to Franklin at Passy with the request that Franklin obtain the permission of Turgot's friends for the publication of the letter. Now that Turgot was dead and the war ended, Price saw no reason for maintaining secrecy.<sup>34</sup> Along with the proof Price sent an advance copy of the *Observa-*

<sup>29</sup> Morgan, pp. 104-105 n.

<sup>30</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.* 2d series, XVI (1903), 343. See also Nathan G. Goodman, *Benjamin Rush* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 387, for the title of a pamphlet upon education by Rush, published in 1786.

<sup>31</sup> In a similar vein James Sullivan of Massachusetts wrote to Price on October 16, 1786, that the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court "have given *at last* such a construction to our declaration of rights as sets this point [freedom of conscience] upon a liberal and safe footing. I shall not do you justice without observing that I believe your letter did much towards it." Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 352. I do not know to what letter Sullivan refers.

<sup>32</sup> John Bigelow, ed., *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1887-88), VIII, 466.

<sup>33</sup> Price to Franklin, July 12, 1784, *ibid.*, IX, 2-3.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

tions, which were "intended entirely" for Americans. A month later Franklin returned the proof with the permissions Price had requested him to secure. In the accompanying letter Franklin said he had it from Jefferson, who had just arrived in France, that affairs in America were now going smoothly and the people were contented with their present governments. Still, America could use good advice, and "I am sure that which you have been so kind as to offer us will be of great service."<sup>35</sup> About the same time Price wrote to Joseph Willard of his concern with the state of manners in America, the avarice, the rage for foreign fineries, the luxurious living, and the jealousy among contending groups and the states. He told Willard he had lately written some advice to America, the pamphlet was nearly printed, and in a few weeks he would send copies to America. "The acceptance of a parcel of them by my friends of Boston will be particularly requested." Then an expression of modesty followed to the effect that Price realized he was not qualified to give advice to America, but he hoped the goodness of his intentions would gain him a hearing.<sup>36</sup> Even before the copies reached America the value of the pamphlet was being advertised. Franklin wrote to Benjamin Vaughan on July 26, 1784, that "Dr. Price's pamphlet of advice to America is a good one and will do good."<sup>37</sup>

By the end of the year copies of the pamphlet were circulating in America, and new editions were being struck off. Price's London publisher, T. Cadell, issued an edition in 1784 and another in 1785, and most of the copies were sent to America. In Boston it was printed in 1784 and significantly enough, there appeared editions in Boston in 1812, 1818, and 1820. It was published also in New Haven, Trenton, Philadelphia, Dublin, and Amsterdam, all in 1785, and in Charleston in 1786. It was presented in Mirabeau's *Considerations* in the form of an abstract along with Mirabeau's own reflections upon it. This work of Mirabeau appeared in French in London in 1784 and 1788, and in English in London in 1785. A Philadelphia edition of Mirabeau's *Reflections on the Observations* appeared in 1786. There can be no doubt therefore of the wide circulation of Price's *Observations*.

How was the pamphlet received? Mirabeau said of it, "This work cannot be too warmly recommended to the Americans. It abounds with judicious observations, sagacious projects, and useful advice; and breathes throughout a spirit of philanthropy, and a love of freedom."<sup>38</sup> The Boston *American Herald* for January 3, 1785, contained the following advertisement: "Observe!]  
90 Pages in an Octavo Volume for Two shillings, on as interesting Subjects

<sup>35</sup> Franklin to Price, Aug. 16, 1784, *ibid.*, IX, 46-48.

<sup>36</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, 3d series, XLIII (1910), 618.

<sup>37</sup> Bigelow, IX, 13.

<sup>38</sup> Mirabeau, *Considerations*, p. 107, n.

to these [American] United States, as any Thing, perhaps, that has been wrote for a Century past! This day are published, And to be sold by Powars & Willis, in State-Street, Boston, 'Observations On the Importance of the American Revolution; and the Means of making it a Benefit to the World.' By Richard Price."<sup>39</sup> On January 27, 1785, the *Exchange Advertiser* said that Dr. Price's *Observations* "ought not to be passed over with a slight perusal—they ought to be written before every man's eyes, in *letters of gold*. They ought to be imprinted on the mind of every American, and be immediately carried into practice by all the legislatures of the United States. It would perhaps be saying too much to assert that every idea is practicable; but certain it is that most of his remarks are *sacred*, and to us, *interesting truths*."<sup>40</sup>

Price made sure that sufficient copies would be distributed in the proper places. On February 1, 1785, Franklin wrote to him from Passy that he had received "some of your excellent pamphlets of Advice to the United States."<sup>41</sup> The most significant evidence that men in high circles read the pamphlet is contained in a letter from Richard Henry Lee to John Adams in London. Lee wrote, "Be so kind as [to] present my respectful compliments to Dr. Price, and tell him that I received his packet of pamphlets and distributed them among the Members of Congress who received them very thankfully and with the respect due to so able a defender of the liberties of Mankind, and the rights of human nature."<sup>42</sup>

There are many testimonies from men who read the work. Jefferson wrote to Price from Paris that he had received a copy. "I have read it with very great pleasure, as have done many others to whom I have communicated it. The spirit which it breathes is as affectionate as the observations themselves are wise and just. I have no doubt it will be reprinted in America and produce much good there." Americans, continued Jefferson, were becoming aware of the "want of power in the federal head," and the sentiment for enlarging the powers of Congress was becoming general. This sentiment was growing stronger partly because European countries were ready to take advantage of the weakness in American commercial relations. Although Jefferson feared the possibility of trouble among the American states before Congress' powers would be increased, he did not despair, and was sure that any prospects of permanence in the American union would give comfort to Price.<sup>43</sup> Six months later, in response to a letter in which Price had expressed anxiety

<sup>39</sup> Quoted in Charles Warren, "Samuel Adams and the Sans Souci Club in 1785," *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, 3d series, LX (1927), 336, n. 23. Brackets in original.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 325.

<sup>42</sup> Lee to Adams, Aug. 1, 1785, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, ed. by Edmund C. Burnett, (Washington, 1921-36), VIII, 174.

<sup>43</sup> Jefferson to Price, Feb. 1, 1785, *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 325-26.

about the reception of his work in America, Jefferson indicated his own reactions as to how "it will have been received." South of the Chesapeake there would be few persons who would concur with Price's remarks about slavery. In the Chesapeake region itself, most persons would approve it in theory and a minority in practice, but this minority would include outstanding people. In the northern states most people would approve because there were few slaves in that region. All this related to the problem of slavery. What Price said about slavery "will do a great deal of good: and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the labouring side," Jefferson continued. Among the leading young men of Virginia there was more sentiment for emancipation than in Maryland, and an address to these young men, "with all that eloquence of which you are master," would be important to any future decision of the question, "perhaps decisive."<sup>44</sup> The reason Price was concerned about the reactions to his remarks upon slavery seemed to grow out of his fear that the general influence of his work would be lessened among those who would take offense at his condemnation of slavery. Writing to John Jay on July 9, 1785, Price recalled that he had sent some copies of the *Observations* to Jay in the preceding autumn. He had written the pamphlet with the intention of helping America, but he had learned that some of the leading men of South Carolina had taken umbrage at his recommendations about the gradual abolition of slavery and the slave trade. If slavery were to be continued in America, then the Revolution, insisted Price, will have been in vain, and the friends of liberty in Europe will be disappointed at the paradox of a people who fought to free themselves in turn imposing slavery upon others.<sup>45</sup>

George Washington read the pamphlet soon after its appearance. On January 10, 1785, Richard Henry Lee apologized to Washington for writing so soon again, and he would not have done so "if it were not to furnish you with the very excellent pamphlet that accompanies this letter—Doctor Price has lately sent over a few of those pamphlets to the President of Congress and left the disposal of them to him—I am very sure that I shall gratify the Doctors feelings as well as my own, when I request your acceptance of one of them."<sup>46</sup> In a letter to Benjamin Vaughan, Washington requested him to extend his thanks to "Doctr. Price, for the honble mention he has made of the American General in his excellent observations on the importance of the American revolution addressed 'To the free and United States of

<sup>44</sup> Jefferson to Price, Aug. 7, 1785, *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1904), IV, 447–48.

<sup>45</sup> Henry P. Johnston, ed., *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (New York, 1890), III, 158–59.

<sup>46</sup> James Curtis Ballagh, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York, 1914), II, 321.



America,' which I have seen and read with much pleasure."<sup>47</sup> Nearly six months later Washington was still discussing the pamphlet. In June, 1785, Mr. and Mrs. Macaulay Graham spent ten days with Washington, and after their departure Washington wrote to thank Richard Henry Lee, then president of Congress, for introducing him to such an intelligent lady, whose "sentiments" Washington was pleased to note "respecting the inadequacy of the powers of Congress, as also those of Doctr. Price's, coincide with my own."<sup>48</sup> The pamphlet was still on Washington's mind as late as November, 1785, when he wrote Price to thank him for his views. Perhaps Price had sent him a copy of the pamphlet. The letter reads,

G. Washington presents his most respectful compliments to Dr. Price. With much thankfulness he has received, and with the highest gratification he has read, the doctor's excellent observations on the importance of the American revolution, and the means of making it a benefit to the world. Most devoutly is it to be wished that reasoning so sound should take deep root in the minds of the revolutionists. . . . For the honorable notice of me in your address, I pray you to receive my warmest acknowledgments, and the assurances of the sincere esteem and respect which I entertain for you.<sup>49</sup>

John Adams agreed essentially with Price's contentions that the powers of the general government should be enlarged, although he gently, and somewhat ironically, suggested that he believed Price went too far in his sentiments about the equality of men, saying that the achievement of such equality was still at an "immense distance." Nevertheless he considered the gifts of the pamphlet to him were "valuable presents," and Americans could not but be "obliged to you, and any other writers capable of throwing light upon these objects [government and commerce], who will take the pains to give them advice." As to their points of difference, "If you will permit, I should be glad to communicate with you concerning these things."<sup>50</sup>

From New England came additional recognition for Price. Jonathan Jackson wrote on August 8, 1785, that he had read the pamphlet and had then loaned his copy to Governor Bowdoin. The governor had read the pamphlet earlier, for he told Jackson he was pleased with the additions made in the later issue. Jackson believed the sentiment in favor of strengthen-

<sup>47</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931-44), XXVIII, 62-63.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 174. Mrs. Graham was a widely known and, by people such as Horace Walpole, bitterly detested English radical. Walpole wrote to Mary Berry, June 29, 1791, "Kate Macaulay was so unlucky as to die a few days ago—but she will gossip over it with Dr. Price." W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven, 1937-1944), XI, 301. Price had died two months earlier.

<sup>49</sup> Bancroft, I, 466.

<sup>50</sup> Adams to Price, Apr. 8, 1785, Adams, VIII, 232-33.



ing the general government was increasing, and Jackson himself was in favor of creating a supreme legislature, executive, and judiciary to which the states must surrender sovereignty.<sup>51</sup> William Hazlitt, the father of the famous British essayist, lived in New England at this time. He wrote to Price, "I, therefore, wish you to continue your benevolent exertions to meliorate and enlighten this people, and to arouse them to improve and perfect their several forms of government. No man living can influence them so much as you."<sup>52</sup> President John Wheelock of Dartmouth College wrote Price that "I cannot tell you how great the applause is which its author receives throughout the state."<sup>53</sup>

All these were private opinions. On the official level there is a testimony of great significance. The president of New Hampshire, Meshech Weare, was in February, 1785, too ill to attend the general court. But he wrote a letter to that body, of which the concluding paragraph reads as follows:<sup>54</sup>

I have nothing new to lay before you, as I have not received any public dispatches since your last Session. Many things of great importance will come before you. Perhaps the United States were never in a more critical situation, or more depended on the measures that may be adopted, than at this time. Give me leave to recommend to your Perusal, Doctor Price's Observations on the importance of the American Revolution, tho' perhaps you may not fully agree with him in all his Sentiments, there are certainly many things in them, which deserve serious attention. It is my earnest wish, that such measures may be adopted as may issue in the prosperity of this and the United States. I am Gentlemen with every Sentiment of Respect Y<sup>r</sup> ob<sup>t</sup> and Hum<sup>l</sup>e Ser<sup>t</sup>,

M WEARE

*Hampton falls*  
Feb<sup>y</sup> 1785

More than a year after its publication, the *Observations* were still being read. On April 6, 1786, Joseph Willard informed Price of the receipt of three copies of the second London edition of the pamphlet, one of which he gave to Professor Samuel Williams according to Price's request. "I wish my country may profit by your advice in all respects."<sup>55</sup>

Not all of the reactions in America to Price's sentiments were so favorable. In the pamphlet Price had much to say about the degeneracy of manners and the disappearance of the simplicity of life that had so distinguished Americans from Europeans. Price thought the simple, agrarian life was a support to virtue and morality. In Boston during the winter of 1784-1785

<sup>51</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 327-28.

<sup>52</sup> Hazlitt to Price, Nov. 15, 1785, *ibid.*, XVI, 334.

<sup>53</sup> Morgan, 107 n.

<sup>54</sup> "Revolution 1784-1786," Manuscript State Papers, X, 79. A copy of this document was supplied to me through the courtesy of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

<sup>55</sup> Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proc.*, 2d series, XVI (1903), 338.

there was organized what came to be called "The Sans Souci Club." The members openly flouted Puritanical principles by holding dances, playing cards, and performing other similar indecencies. A storm of controversy developed in Boston, and men, as was customary in that era, took to the newspapers to air their views. Out of all this furor came a farce in three acts entitled *Sans Souci, alias Free and Easy*. Price got his dues in Act 3, scene 1. Mr. Importance called Price's notions "imaginary" and "antiquated." "Modern republicanism is of a very different complexion. . . . The ancient republican spirit is like the old principles of religion—staunch Calvinism, but now we have modernized them, and united them with the Court stile of taste and fashion." Jemmy Satirist had his say. "The Doctor's sentiments did well enough in war times, when we were under the influence of Whig principles . . . but now why are we to be dinged with national manners, national debts, economy, industry and such disagreeable subjects."<sup>58</sup> The tone of these remarks about Price indicates that he must have been well known to the people of Boston.

Having seen that Price was a man whose fame and achievements would earn him a respectful hearing in America, and that his *Observations* were widely read and sincerely praised, we may now consider the contents of the book and the relationship they bear to the Constitution.<sup>57</sup> The pamphlet was dedicated "To the Free and United States of America, . . . as A Last Testimony of the Goodwill of the Author." As to his own sentiments about the Revolution, Price says, "With heart-felt satisfaction, I see the revolution in favour of universal liberty which has taken place in *America*;—a revolution which opens a new prospect in human affairs, and begins a new aera in the history of mankind."<sup>58</sup> During the war there were established in America "forms of government more equitable and more liberal than any that the world has ever yet known," and the Revolution having been successful, these governments will endure and America will become "a place of refuge for opprest men in every region of the world," and the seat of an empire where liberty, virtue, and science will prevail.<sup>59</sup> Anticipating Bancroft, Price sees in all this the hand of Providence. In an age when philosophers were confident of human progress, Price considered the American Revolution one of the most significant advances mankind had ever made, and he goes so far as to assert that the Revolution may be the most important step in human progress next to Christianity.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Charles Warren, "Samuel Adams and the Sans Souci Club in 1785," *ibid.*, 3d series, LX (1927), 336-37.

<sup>57</sup> The edition to which I shall refer is the Boston edition of 1784, published by Powars and Willis.

<sup>58</sup> *Observations*, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.

Great as have been the achievements of Americans, much remains to be done in order to win the fullest measure of virtue and liberty. Remembering Price's concern with the problems of a national debt, it is hardly surprising that he has much to say about this subject. One of the first things America must do is to redeem her debts and pay the soldiers in order to establish "infant credit" as a nation. With the vast resources, particularly of land, that America possesses, there should be no problem here. But the debts will not redeem themselves, and Price rides his hobby by insisting upon the prompt establishment of a sinking fund to provide for systematic debt retirement.<sup>61</sup> Americans owe another debt besides the monetary one. That is a debt of "Gratitude only," to that general "who has been raised up by Providence to make them free and independent, and whose name must shine among the first in the future annals of the benefactors of mankind."<sup>62</sup>

A second problem is the maintenance of peace, not so much because America has to fear attacks from without but because the greatest threat to domestic tranquillity is from turmoil within the United States. "This is their *greatest* danger; and providing securities against it is their *hardest* work."<sup>63</sup> Using the familiar line of reasoning, Price compares the states with individuals. Just as individuals are kept at peace one with another by allowing their disputes to be settled in a court of law, backed by the force of the state, so there must be some superior power that can settle disputes among the states. The Articles of Confederation, says Price, are only a beginning. They are inadequate because Congress has no power to enforce its decisions. To remedy this "much must be given up" by the states. "Without all doubt the powers of Congress must be enlarged."<sup>64</sup> How? Certainly not by means of giving to Congress the control of a standing army, for that institution is an engine of tyranny. Rather Congress must have enlarged power to call out the state militia. Congress must also be given greater financial authority, and this authority shall be granted in such a way as to avoid the likelihood of being checked by "the opposition of any minority in the States."<sup>65</sup> A periodical census should be undertaken as a means of securing valuable information, not only for the purposes of establishing proportions for the levies upon the states but for other uses as well.

Now all of these things must be done in such a manner and under such forms that human liberty will not be infringed upon. While Americans enjoy a much more complete religious and civil liberty than any other people in the world, safeguards must nevertheless be established. Govern-

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 17.

ment must not interfere with freedom of discussion or thought. Its function is only to protect life and property, and men's souls must not become the concern of civil authority. If "malevolence and bigotry" appear, government still must not curtail freedom, but must only counteract these evils by encouraging the search for truth, and this search will be successful so long as there is free discussion. "Nothing reasonable can suffer by discussion," for "The Author of nature has planted in the human mind principles and feelings which will operate in opposition to any theories that may seem to contradict them" and therefore only "overt acts of injustice, violence or defamation, come properly under the cognizance of civil power."<sup>66</sup> Closely related to the problem of freedom is the consideration of religion. As a Dissenter, Price was acutely aware of the necessity for warning Americans against permitting the legal establishment of religion in their country. There must, he insists, be complete freedom in matters of conscience and religion, and not mere toleration. All Christians being equal in the sight of God, no denomination can claim mastery over others. Religious establishments are inconsistent with the rights of private judgment and are fetters upon freedom of investigation. If Price had his way, he would prefer atheism to the establishment of a superstitious religion. Among several other arguments against civil establishments is the assertion that they place the state above Christ. Let religion flourish in the United States, but let it be a better religion than there is in Europe. Let religion in America be the "genuine Gospel of peace." Price expresses admiration for the article in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights respecting freedom of religious belief and worship.<sup>67</sup> Yet religious tests still exist in several American states, notably in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and also in Massachusetts, and Price dislikes these. Americans must not neglect provisions for education which shall "teach *how* to think, rather than *what* to think." The better to aid the search for truth, youth should be taught how to search and not what to search for. Education should assist in unfolding and developing the young mind, but always the quest for truth must be undertaken in a humble spirit, for the more we learn the more clearly we realize how little of all knowledge we possess.<sup>68</sup>

These are the great objects needing attention—debts, internal peace through a more adequate central governmental authority, liberty, and education. Now, what of the dangers facing America? Debts again and internal wars can be guarded against by enlarging the powers of Congress. Parenthetically Price asserts a preference for a federal structure rather than

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 18–30.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30–41.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43–53.

a unitary state, and beyond this he scarcely deals with the structure of government. Another great danger is the growth of inequality of rank and property. As a Dissenter he believes in the career open to all talent, but he also fears the emergence of too great distinctions among men growing out of factors that have nothing to do with inherent abilities or talents. America is fortunate, he says, in being in a station between barbarism and over-refinement and luxury. Let her maintain her rustic simplicity, with a hardy, independent yeomanry as the backbone of the body politic. How Jefferson must have approved of this. The state can do something about maintaining equality. For one thing, it can prohibit titles of nobility and hereditary honors and it can abolish primogeniture. Let the United States be "a confederation of States, prosperous and happy, without lords—without Bishops—and without Kings."<sup>69</sup> Still speaking of equality and simplicity, Price has ideas about foreign trade similar to those of another European who had given advice to America, the abbé de Mably.<sup>70</sup> Foreign trade can be beneficial if it leads to the exchange of necessary and useful goods and promotes international good will, but Americans must avoid the building up of a large foreign trade for the purpose of importing luxuries, which would lead to entanglements abroad and the necessity of maintaining a huge navy. Americans are so blessed with an abundance of natural resources that they have almost all the things they need within their own boundaries. Anticipating Washington, Price cries, "Thus singularly happy, why should they seek connexions with *Europe*, and expose themselves to the danger of being involved in its quarrels?—What have they to do with its politics? Is there any thing very important to them which they can draw from thence—except Infection?"<sup>71</sup> In order to avoid the invasions of European manners and contagions and to prevent the growth of a dependence upon European fripperies, Price advocates a heavy import duty. Another effect of a huge foreign trade might be to drain the United States of specie and to lead America to resort to the issuance of paper money. Speaking of this, Price remarks in passing that a well-regulated public bank, if cautious about the issuance of bank notes, would be useful. A final word about another danger. "The Negro Trade cannot be censured in language too severe." Price is happy to learn that the United States are "entering into measures for discountenancing it, and for abolishing the odious slavery which it has introduced." Although this must be a gradual process, liberty in America will

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>70</sup> Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, "Observations sur Le Gouvernement et Les Loix des États-Unis D'Amérique" (1783), *Oeuvres Complètes de L'Abbé de Mably* (Toulouse, 1791), XIII.

<sup>71</sup> *Observations*, p. 63.

not be complete until slavery is abolished, and, for once, Price can point to England as having set a beneficial example.<sup>72</sup>

For all of his hopes, Price concludes with a note of discouragement. Since beginning this pamphlet he has received accounts that have made him think perhaps he has carried his thoughts of America too high. If reports are true that Americans are falling prey to dissipation, luxury, and idleness, if they are losing their simplicity and piety, and if a clashing of interests comes to mark the conduct of their public affairs, then the Revolution may have been only the beginning of new misery instead of the dawn of a new era of happiness and progress. Hence the need of taking actions to prevent the dangers he has pointed out from leading to evil consequences.

In 1786 Mirabeau's *Reflections on the Observations* was published in Philadelphia. In general he agrees with Price. Although he thinks some of Price's fears are exaggerated, he admits that the cautions of the English writer are "dictated by wisdom."<sup>73</sup> The enlargement of the powers of Congress, the maintenance of a citizen militia, the improvement of educational facilities, the encouragement of the ardor for liberty, all of them, he admitted, Price's ideas, are sound. He disagrees with Price about public finance, insisting that, as soon as the public debt is paid off, America must never under any circumstance incur new debts. Mirabeau would not grant to Congress the power to contract new loans, whereas Price would. But Mirabeau charitably thinks that talk of debts comes naturally for an Englishman who lives in a country constantly burdened with indebtedness.<sup>74</sup> Actually there was no fundamental difference between them about the dangers of a huge public debt, except that Price would allow debts to be incurred if the means of retiring them were provided for. Mirabeau is enthusiastic over Price's view of commerce. Price, he says, has shown "a ray of celestial light" on this subject, and Americans should read this chapter of the *Observations* "again and again. Engrave it in your public halls."<sup>75</sup> Like Price, Mirabeau is convinced that the pursuit of luxury is inconsonant with the existence of virtue, and that the inequality of economic status resulting from the growth of commerce will endanger liberty. In general, therefore, Mirabeau warns Americans of the same dangers that Price fears. The appearance of Mirabeau's book in translation in Philadelphia in 1786 helped keep alive the messages Price carried in his *Observations* of the preceding year.

It is not necessary to detail the chronology of events in the 1780's to

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>73</sup> *Reflections*, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-11.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

realize that Price's pamphlet was timely. It appeared at a time when sentiment was crystallizing in the minds of American leaders for a change in the general government. Almost from the moment of the final ratification of the Articles, discontent over the inadequate powers of Congress was manifested.<sup>76</sup> The desires expressed in the private correspondence of some American leaders of the period, the various attempts within Congress to amend the Articles, the calling of the Annapolis Convention, and finally, the assembling of the Constitutional Convention are familiar facts. The point to be noticed here is that Price's pamphlet appeared during the years when men were becoming convinced of the need for constitutional change and were thinking of taking specific action looking towards that end. How much influence Price's *Observations* had in the growth of this sentiment cannot be ascertained with precision. But some things are certain. Anything Price wrote would be heeded by American leaders, his *Observations* were widely read in America, and the views Price expressed were in harmony with the trend of thought during the years 1784-1787. One can, I believe, assert that Price's pamphlet encouraged these American leaders to continue their efforts, and helped to convince them that constitutional changes looking towards a stronger central authority were wise and necessary.

In the interval between the Annapolis and Philadelphia assemblages, Price continued to express his opinions to friends in the United States. On January 26, 1787, he wrote to an unnamed correspondent in New York. The letter got back to England and part of it was published under the section entitled "American News" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. "It is a pity that some general controuling power cannot be established, of sufficient vigour to decide disputes, to regulate commerce, to prevent wars, and to constitute an union that shall have weight and credit."<sup>77</sup>

Although Price in his *Observations* had said little about governmental structure, his views were well known in the United States because of his earlier writings. In the Constitutional Convention and in the Virginia ratifying convention Price was referred to as an authority on the question of forms of government, and his pamphlets of a decade earlier were recalled. Paradoxically, the man who mentioned Price in this matter was an outstanding opponent of the Constitution as it came to be written. In the debate of June 27, 1787, Luther Martin, speaking of the position of the small states in the national legislature, said, "Price says, that laws made by one

<sup>76</sup> Warren, *Making of the Constitution*, Pt. I; Merrill Jensen, "The Idea of a National Government during the American Revolution," *Political Science Quarterly*, LVIII (September, 1943), 356-79.

<sup>77</sup> LVII (July, 1787), 631.



man or a set of men, and not by common consent, is slavery—And it is so when applied to states, if you give them an unequal representation.”<sup>78</sup> This is the only specific mention of Price in the records of the Convention, but the reference to him is made in such a way as to indicate that the speaker assumed that everyone knew who Price was. Martin fell back upon Price as an authority to rank with the greatest of the political philosophers when he set forth his reasons for opposing the Constitution. In his “Genuine Information” Martin wrote, “However, a majority of the convention, hastily and inconsiderately, without condescending to make a fair trial, in their great wisdom, decided that a kind of government, which a Montesquieu and a Price have declared the best calculated of any to preserve internal liberty, and to enjoy external strength and security, and the only one by which a large contingent can be connected and united, consistently with the principles of liberty, was totally impracticable; and they acted accordingly.”<sup>79</sup> But if Luther Martin could refer to Price in opposing the system of representation established by the Constitution, George Nicholas in the Virginia ratifying convention could quote Price in favor of the same provisions. The record of the debate says, “Mr. Nicholas then quoted a passage from the celebrated Dr. Price [*Observations on Civil Liberty*] who was so strenuous a friend to America, proving that, as long as representation and responsibility existed in any country, liberty could not be endangered; and concluded by saying he conceived the Constitution founded on the strictest principles of true policy and liberty, . . .”<sup>80</sup>

Benjamin Rush kept Price informed of the progress of the effort to establish a new government for the United States, and after he learned of the adoption of the Constitution, Price expressed his happiness in a letter to Franklin. Above all, he was pleased at the prospects for individual freedom that the new constitution seemed to promise.<sup>81</sup> Between the views of Price and some of the provisions of the Constitution there are both similarities and differences. It cannot be said that the sections of the Constitution that were in harmony with Price’s desires were framed according to his suggestions or out of deference to his wishes. Certainly the Constitutional Convention would have assembled and the Constitution have been written even had there never lived a Dr. Price. Yet the Convention and the Constitution it produced were the products of many forces operating

<sup>78</sup> Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven, 1934), I, 441.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 197, App. A, CLVIII, par. 37.

<sup>80</sup> Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution . . .* (2d ed; Philadelphia, 1907), III, 20–21.

<sup>81</sup> Bigelow, X, 42–44.

concurrently and simultaneously, any one of which would not alone have been determinative. Can anyone say precisely how significant were the writings of Montesquieu or John Adams? The urgings of Price and the specific recommendations he made, considering the fame of the man and his close friendships with many of the leaders of American affairs at this period, ought not be neglected in any attempt to bring together the various factors and influences that combined to produce the Constitution of the United States.

# The "Presidential Synthesis" in American History

THOMAS C. COCHRAN\*

FIFTY years of rapid growth in the social sciences have had surprisingly little effect on the general content and synthesis of American history. The main props of the synthetic structure, erected, more or less unconsciously, by such pioneers as Channing, Hart, McMaster, and Turner, are still securely in place. Although much new trim in the form of discussions of artistic and social movements has been added, the old skeleton of wars, presidential administrations, and the westward movement still holds the edifice together.

Examining the contents of the few interpretations of American history for the general reader or of recent college textbooks, including two first published in 1947, one is struck by the uniformity of the traditional synthesis. From the Constitution to the Civil War recent scholars have not strayed far from the paths trod by the turn-of-the-century pioneers. Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, the War of 1812, the Westward Movement, Territorial Expansion, and Sectional Conflict form a standard pattern. In the period between 1865 and 1896, then too recent for the pioneers to set in a definitive mold, the present synthesis offers somewhat more diversity. But the suspicion that the more varied treatment may also be due to the obvious inadequacy of national politics to serve as the thought-saving standby is supported by the resumption of the old pattern as soon as the presidency again becomes interesting. From Theodore Roosevelt on, presidential administrations and national political issues, including wars, again become the center of the narrative. For this reason I am going to refer to the standard pattern as the "presidential synthesis," realizing fully that the presidential chronology is not continuously adhered to, that many other themes are included, and that, in any case, such emphasis is only a superficial manifestation of more fundamental inadequacies.

Judged either by the complex of values and standards that may loosely be referred to as humanistic or by those of the social sciences, the presidential synthesis is a failure. It satisfies a follower of Toynbee, for example, but little better than it does the devotees of the dismal science. But, at present,

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I shall discuss only its inadequacy in dealing with the type of problems in modern society that most interest social scientists, or what may be termed from their point of view history's lack of social realism. To members of the disciplines that have to study the problems of industrial society, the basic data or trends with which the historian has traditionally dealt do not seem of the highest importance, and the studies themselves seem to the social scientist correspondingly futile. A consensus of the problems dealt with by social scientists would include such topics as the causes and conditions of economic growth or stagnation; the effect on enterprise of community approbation, competition, monopoly, and regulation; the social difficulties coming from great urban centers, new types of employment, and changing levels of opportunity; the psychological frustrations developing from urban insecurity, badly selected social goals and altered family relationships; and the origins and continuing support of social manners, attitudes, and beliefs. The rapid rise of such group problems has characterized the history of the last hundred and fifty years, but, needless to say, they are not the central feature of the presidential synthesis. Moreover, cursory study of general European history writing indicates that this weakness is not confined to the history of the United States.

How has this situation arisen? Why should an important intellectual discipline, occupying the time of many thousands of scholars, fail to keep pace with the spiritual and material problems of its civilization?

An obvious part of the answer lies in the fact that the writing of history is a time-honored and traditional occupation long antedating the modern emphasis on empirical method in the social sciences or present-day problems or source materials. The historical record prior to 1800 here or abroad is relatively scanty. The historian has to use the materials he can find rather than those that might best answer his questions. To begin with, these materials are largely governmental, and the fact that the modern syntheses were developed in a period of growing nationalism led to a still greater preoccupation with political sources. Historians, used to confining themselves to these old and easily available records for the earlier periods, failed to make use of new types of material as these became available in the later nineteenth century. The habits of the older historian, educated to a scarcity of records, perpetuated themselves amidst a later-day abundance. Statistical data, specialized periodicals, new types of correspondence, and the records of many organizations, profit-making or otherwise, were all relatively neglected, while the traditional sources were reinterpreted again and again.

This tendency has been noted or implied in various ways from the time

of Buckle and Green in England and of the graduate seminars of the eighties in America. Yet, in spite of an increasing recognition of the importance and complexity of the elements in modern society that are but faintly reflected in national politics, no well-formulated rival synthesis is even contesting the sway of the presidential. No new texts and few other general histories have attempted to shatter the mold. No recognized "social science" synthesis of American history is challenging the traditional formula.<sup>1</sup>

The explanation of such a striking intellectual anachronism is bound to be subtle and complex, for if the antiquated structure rested on one or two easily recognized errors it could not have withstood the pressures of new generations of historians. A long list of causes must therefore be investigated, the absolute importance of any one of which is hard to evaluate, but all of which together seem largely responsible for the general failure of the historian of recent times.

The written record itself, particularly when buttressed with systematic documentation, exercises a tyranny that has been commented on frequently by students of the nature of language but often overlooked by scholars in other fields. The mere fact that a previous writer has organized his material and phraseology in a certain way creates a predisposition in its favor. The later writer can no longer respond entirely freshly to the original data; he may agree with or object to what has been said, but in either case his orbit of thought has been made to include the existing interpretation. A. M. Schlesinger, jr., and Joseph Dorfman, for example, may argue about the interpretation of "Jacksonian Democracy," but they both accept the traditional concept as central to the synthesis of the period. Charles A. Beard introduced new economic factors, but he employed them within the presidential synthesis. With its great quantities of traditional literature, and its lack of accepted conceptual tools for fresh theoretical analysis, history probably suffers more than any other discipline from the tyranny of written models.

In still another way, the inner compulsions of writing have ruled the historian. The traditional basis of history has been narrative. The "great"

<sup>1</sup> Guy Stanton Ford pointed out the need for such a synthesis over a decade ago in "Some Suggestions to American Historians," *American Historical Review*, XLIII (January, 1938), 267-68. High school textbooks, while reflecting the social scientific approach more than college, have not attempted any radical resynthesis. Henry B. Parkes, *The American Experience* (New York, 1947), while presenting an interpretation based on conflicting social ideologies, rather than the presidential synthesis, does not, in general, employ social science concepts or methods. Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller's *Age of Enterprise* (New York, 1942), offers a general synthesis, based on the social sciences, but puts specific emphasis on the role of business. See also Caroline F. Ware, ed., *The Cultural Approach to History* (New York, 1940).

histories of the past such as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Macaulay's *England*, or Motley's *Dutch Republic* have been exciting "stories." Furthermore, since historians like to have their books published, and are not averse to sales, the popular dramatic frame of reference has been used whenever possible. This general approach is often valid when applied to the actions of a single individual, but neither narrative nor popular drama is usually suited to the analysis of mass phenomena. While drama will still be found in the conflict and resolution of forces or in group challenge and response, this is likely to be drama on a nonpopular abstract level. The historian has, of course, been aware of this dilemma, but, faced with the choice of retaining a false emphasis on colorful individuals and exciting events or of giving up the narrative style, he has clung as long as possible to storytelling and treasured most those source materials that permitted narration.<sup>2</sup>

By taking the written record that was easiest to use and most stirring from a sentimental or romantic standpoint, that is, the record of the federal government, the American historian prepared the way for one of the major misconceptions in American synthesis: the primary role of the central government in our historical development. While political scientists carefully pointed out that up to the First World War, at least, most of the normal governmental contacts of the citizen were with his state, and historians dwelt on the importance of sectionalism and state rights and joined with business leaders in emphasizing the laissez-faire doctrines that for a part of the nineteenth century kept government impotent and unimportant, the same men, influenced perhaps by nineteenth century European training, persisted in writing a national history revolving around presidential administrations and constitutional law. In the early stages of the economic development of each region, government and politics were in truth of great importance, but government was that of the state and the politics revolved around such material questions as loans or subsidies to banking and transportation, practices of incorporation, and the degree of government ownership thought desirable. In a later stage of economic growth the states led the way in regulating business and economic activity in the public interest. In neither stage, prior to 1900, was the federal government of major importance except for the initial disposal of public land, adjustment of the tariff, and widely separated changes in banking policy. The sporadic transference of ultimate power from state to federal government by decisions of the Supreme Court and acts of Congress from

<sup>2</sup> The time and energy that have been lavished on collecting and publishing even relatively unimportant letters of famous statesmen compared with that expended in trying to learn something of the communities in which they lived strikingly indicates the historians' leanings.

the 1880's on, at first freed certain citizens from state controls without imposing effective federal ones. Not until the second decade of the twentieth century was the theoretical shift in power implemented by much effective federal action.

The realistic history of nineteenth and even early twentieth century politics, therefore, whether viewed from the standpoint of political parties or of the community, should be built around the states. This, of course, imposes an enormous burden on the historian. The situations in from thirteen to forty-eight states must be synthesized. Furthermore, the older state histories are inadequate as a basis for such synthesis. Scholars must first write new monographs on business and government in the states, and new cultural interpretations of state politics.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, at present, a general American history has to be more a series of suggestions of what needs to be known than a comprehensive analysis.

A somewhat similar obstacle in the path of the historian who approaches the problem of synthesis is the extent to which our existing knowledge of the past is based on the writings of a small group of cultural leaders. He will tend to see events not only through the eyes of men of more than average vigor, property, education, and intelligence but also in the light of the metaphors of those who wrote the most enduring and readable prose. The circle of possible deception is completed when the statements of such abnormal citizens are read back as typical of their class, section, or society as a whole, and the resulting analysis is used to explain still other situations. The brilliant John Taylor of Caroline was not the typical Southern planter, Susan B. Anthony's problems were not those of the average woman, nor was Herbert Croly a good representative of many phases of the progressive movement.

A major reason for this reliance on leaders is that historical data on average people and everyday situations is hard to find. What was the typical rural community of 1840 from the statistical standpoint? What were normal ideas among its average citizens? Until there are answers to such questions, generalizations regarding the role of ideas in social change must rest on tenuous deductions.<sup>4</sup> Both quantitative and typical studies are sadly lacking. Some of these data can be assembled from better use of published and manuscript census reports, others will have to be examined by

<sup>3</sup> The Committee on Research in Economic History, of the Social Science Research Council, has sponsored studies of government in relation to economic life in the pre-Civil War period for four sample states. Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, *Commonwealth: Massachusetts, 1774-1861* (New York, 1947), and Louis Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), are the only ones that have been published.

<sup>4</sup> See Theodore C. Blegen, *Grass Roots History* (Minneapolis, 1947).



sampling methods, governed by proper statistical controls. The normal ideas of the average citizen in any time and place will have to be assembled from many indirect sources, such as the speeches of astute local politicians who, knowing what their constituents wanted to hear, mirrored public prejudices; the blurbs of discerning advertisers who sought in local papers to cater to public taste; and the letters of businessmen discussing public reactions that vitally concerned the future of their trade. Such materials are relatively hard to find and to use, but there are many indications of their widespread existence.<sup>5</sup>

Research in such sources immediately brings the scholar to a level of social relations deeper than that of conventional historic events, and exposes another major reason for the persistence of the presidential synthesis. As long as history consists of a series of important unique acts, thought to symbolize or cause change in society, a narrative account based on national happenings has a certain logic. But once the historian penetrates to the level of the social conditioning factors that produce people capable of such acts and tries to find the probability of the occurrence of any type of event, the acts themselves become a surface manifestation of more fundamental forces. While events are an indispensable part of the data of history, and even chance events, granting there are such, may have strong repercussions on their environment, the social science approach focuses attention on the aspects of the event that reveal the major drives of the culture rather than those that appear to be most colorful or unique. The latter elements, by definition not being representative of the general culture pattern, will presumably have only a limited effect or significance. Southern secession, for example, had its roots in cultural factors underlying such events as the tariffs, the acts of abolitionists, or territorial laws that seemed to produce the friction. These events are chiefly useful as clues to the nature of the basic differences between the sections. Similarly the American people in the early 1930's, facing a new cultural situation, displayed qualities of resignation not easily explicable on the basis of either the traditional or immediate events of their past.

Historical change on this level of basic social conditioning is, to be sure, a difficult, and, in the present stage of social science knowledge, a highly speculative study. Furthermore, the large quantities of material to be examined and the various types of special knowledge required often make

<sup>5</sup> See Merle E. Curti, *The Roots of American Loyalty* (New York, 1946), Lewis E. Atherton, *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia, Mo., 1939), Thomas D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows: The Southern Country Store* (Indianapolis, 1944), and Everett Dick, *The Dixie Frontier: A Social History of the Southern Frontier from the First Transmontane Beginnings to the Civil War* (New York, 1948), for use of such material.

group, rather than individual, research essential. The generally individualistic work habits of the historian, therefore, suggest another reason for the failure of historical scholarship in this area. But the topography of this field has been charted sufficiently to allow even individual historians to make rewarding sorties into its intricate terrain.<sup>6</sup>

In the space of an article one can suggest only a few of the many types of research that will help build a social science synthesis. As a beginning, it should be possible with patience and ingenuity to assemble the large number of career lines of different types of social leaders, essential for a picture of who succeeded in the society and how. Beside the pattern of how men succeeded in fact, should be further study, from qualitative sources such as private correspondence, of the alternative goals that influenced men's expectations.<sup>7</sup> How did their "level of expectation" from material or intellectual standpoints vary? What was the true "American dream"? Such considerations would lead not only to a higher level of generalization in our social history writing but to possible scientific comparisons between American and other cultures.

A more difficult excursion into the field of basic historical factors is the tracing of the changing character of family relations including both the relationships within the family circle and the aims and aspirations of the members of the family in their real and imaginary contacts with the outside world. Whether one uses a striking term like Kardiner and Linton's "basic personality"<sup>8</sup> or some time-honored word like "background" to cover the effects of familial conditioning, few scholars will deny the fundamental importance of this factor in shaping the course of civilization.<sup>9</sup> But the investigation of the precise reaction to change is difficult, calling for psychological and sociological knowledge seldom possessed by the historian, and hence the family does not appear as a factor on the level of historical events.<sup>10</sup> An additional deterrent to historical analysis is that there are many

<sup>6</sup> For a number of suggestive articles, see *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, a symposium edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein and R. M. MacIver (New York, 1947). Abram Kardiner with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois, and James West (pseud.), *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (New York, 1945), and Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937), are examples of the type of social-psychological and sociological literature that merits the attention of all historians.

<sup>7</sup> See Frank W. Taussig and C. J. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Social Stratification* (New York, 1932). William Miller, in a study now in preparation, has assembled data on 350 business and political leaders of the decade 1900 to 1910. I have similar material for some 75 railroad executives of the period 1850 to 1890.

<sup>8</sup> Kardiner, *et al.*, p. viii.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Talcott Parsons, "Certain Primary Sources and Patterns of Aggression in the Social Structure of the Western World," in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, pp. 29-48.

<sup>10</sup> Arthur W. Calhoun in his *Social History of the American Family, from Colonial Times to the Present* (Cleveland, 1917-19), 3 vols., assembled a large mass of random material that

"American families" at any given period. The variation in conditioning between the family of a back-country mountaineer and a rural professional man, or a city slum dweller and a Fifth Avenue millionaire, may easily be greater than the variation between the Maori family and the Maricopa.<sup>11</sup> As in current studies in cultural anthropology, such as *Plainville, U.S.A.* or the "Yankee City Series," half a dozen different types of families based on income and occupational levels must be studied.<sup>12</sup> The upper-class groups offer an abundance of data in the form of memoirs, letters, and contemporary comments;<sup>13</sup> the poorer groups, particularly before 1890, offer only a challenge to the investigator. But the scholar striving to check theories and hypotheses regarding the family against historical data, and no one not so motivated should essay the task, will doubtless find many clues that have been concealed from the "uneducated" eyes of the conventional historian. Perhaps some day it will be possible to guess wisely at the degree to which group aggressions, political radicalism, or instability in mass reactions were due to the stresses and strains of a family conditioning that became unsuited in varying degrees to the changes in surrounding society.

Looking at the situation more broadly, the new psychological problems of Western civilization by 1900 can be seen as the result of contrary types of conditioning: family and school conditioning in youth, based either here or abroad, on mores and folkways largely inherited from a pre-industrial society; in maturity, conditioning in urban offices and factories, based on new mores and folkways that were evolving from the needs of business; and almost from birth to death, conditioning by pulpit, press, or other media of communication, based on a heterogeneous mixture of traditional and pragmatic doctrines.<sup>14</sup>

Shifting attention on this fundamental level from psychology to the rise of urban industrialism, the chief external pressure that upset existing family patterns, one enters a field where historians have done considerably

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has been rather uncritically drawn upon by historians. Sociologists studying the dynamics of the family have been more interested in the inner psychological tensions than in tracing historically the changing external pressures that altered the inner patterns. See, for example, Willard Waller, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation*, (New York, 1938).

<sup>11</sup> The Maricopa are Southern Arizona Indians, the Maori are Polynesians. See also Clyde and F. R. Kluckhohn, "American Culture," in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, pp. 106-28.

<sup>12</sup> James West (pseud.), *Plainville, U.S.A.* (New York, 1945); W. L. Warner, ed., "Yankee City Series," I-IV (New Haven, 1941-47).

<sup>13</sup> By the biographer or historian these materials have been used chiefly to enrich and support narrative, but to the cultural anthropologist or psychologist they present clues to social and psychological patterns. Social scientists have made as little use of these historical materials as historians have of the techniques necessary to analyze them.

<sup>14</sup> See Thurman Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism* (New Haven, 1937); and also Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Society* (New York, 1933).

more work but have in general subordinated their findings to the events of the presidential synthesis, and have failed, because of their disinterest in theory, to deal with many of the problems basic to urban sociology. Even A. M. Schlesinger, sr., who did much to start urban study among historians and whose general synthesis in the latter half of *Land of the Free* is one of the best, keeps the city in a relatively subordinate position.<sup>15</sup> Special sociological areas of first-rate importance, such as urban demography and its social consequences, are not properly considered in our general histories. The whole argument on this score might be summed up by saying that we have many "social" accounts of American historical data but few sociological interpretations.

In all this confusing historic picture of shifting ideas, folkways, and mores, of new family relationships and of growing urban problems, the massive physical force producing change has been industrialism. Yet, judging from the presidential synthesis, the obvious fact that it was industrialism that moved us from the world of George Washington to that of the present day apparently needs still more emphasis. The spearhead of the multiple pressures of industrialization has been business, and businessmen have been of necessity the human agents who transmitted to society the physical changes born of science and industrial technology. The institutions of business, therefore, became the central mechanisms in shaping a new society and imposing industrial customs upon it. Before mid-century, the sensitive New England intellectuals were well aware of the change. "In America, out of doors, all seems a market," Emerson complained in 1844.

. . . I speak of those organs which can be presumed to speak in a popular sense. They recommend conventional virtues, whatever will earn and preserve property; always the capitalist; the college, the church, the hospital, the theatre, the hotel, the road, the ship of the capitalist—whatever goes to secure, adorn, enlarge these, is good, whatever jeopardizes any of these is damnable.<sup>16</sup>

From 1840 to 1860 the new impact of business and its urbanism upon American culture was perhaps greater relatively than in any other equal period, yet such forces appear only in the form of a few isolated phenomena in the presidential synthesis of the pre-Civil War era.

In the post-Civil War years the continuing cultural pressures of business, on which the Civil War had relatively little effect, are better recognized

<sup>15</sup> Homer C. Hockett and Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Land of the Free* (New York, 1944).

<sup>16</sup> Ralph W. Emerson, *English Traits, Representative Men, and Other Essays* (New York, 1908), pp. 370, 371.

by our general historians. But a new difficulty now appears. Just as in the case of public opinion, the family, or urbanism, only the spectacular or exotic has been able to force its way into the traditional synthesis.<sup>17</sup> Our textbooks, for example, tell much of the resistance of certain farm groups to elevator and railroad practices but little of the growing force of business folkways and mores in the rural community.<sup>18</sup>

In this case the approach to a realistically balanced synthesis will be much easier than in those previously discussed. Business records of all types are becoming available in increasing quantities.<sup>19</sup> Monographic literature is steadily accumulating.<sup>20</sup> The general historian surveying this field, however, will find that while existing studies, in economics as well as in history, give much of the internal picture of the workings of business, the connections between business and society are not elaborated.<sup>21</sup> The business leader or entrepreneur, for example, was the arbiter not only of change within his company but also, to a large extent, of change in his community.<sup>22</sup> Since his money, and hence his approbation, was generally necessary for community welfare and improvement, he sat on the boards of the educational, charitable, political, and business institutions that dominated social habits and set social goals.<sup>23</sup> And necessarily, he carried into these other fields the habits formed by the needs of survival in business. He strove to make education, charity, politics, and social life "businesslike." Generations of historians have analyzed the thought of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun to extract every last vestige of social meaning, while Nathan Appleton, John

<sup>17</sup> See Thomas C. Cochran, "A Plan for the Study of Business Thinking," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII (March, 1947), 82-90.

<sup>18</sup> See again, *Plainville, U.S.A.*; and also the extensive bibliography of older sociological studies of the rural community in Walter A. Terpenning, *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods* (New York, 1931). Recent analyses such as Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York, 1940), are still weak in tracing the gradual infiltration of business mores and folkways in the rural community.

<sup>19</sup> A National Business Records Management Center is now being organized by a committee of the Social Science Research Council.

<sup>20</sup> See "Harvard Studies in Business History," ed. by N. S. B. Gras (Cambridge, 1931-); and "New York University Business History Series," ed. by Thomas C. Cochran (New York, 1948-).

<sup>21</sup> See such studies of the current situation as Robert A. Gordon, *Business Leadership in the Large Corporation* (Washington, 1945); and Peter F. Drucker, *Concept of the Corporation* (New York, 1946). N. S. B. Gras, *Business and Capitalism* (New York, 1939) is a historical study of business organization. Some studies, such as Carl F. Tausch, *Professional and Business Ethics* (New York, 1926), and Max Radin, *The Manners and Morals of Business* (Indianapolis, 1939), deal with limited aspects of the relations of business to society.

<sup>22</sup> See Arthur H. Cole, "An Approach to the Study of Entrepreneurship," *Journal of Economic History*, VI, Supp. (1946), 1-15; Joseph A. Schumpeter, "The Creative Response in Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, VII (November, 1947), 149-59, for general discussion of the socio-economic role of the business leader; and Thomas C. Cochran, "The Social History of the Corporation in the United States," in Ware, *The Cultural Approach to History*, pp. 168-81, for discussion and bibliography on social aspects of business.

<sup>23</sup> See for example, H. P. Beck, *Men Who Control Our Universities* (New York, 1947), and Merle E. Curti, *The Social Ideas of American Educators* (New York, 1935) pp. 210-32.

Murray Forbes, and a host of other important business figures of the same period, awaiting their first social interpreters, do not appear in the presidential synthesis.

The modern corporation, a new social instrumentality developed primarily by business leaders, must also be given a much larger place in a social science synthesis. Here the problem is a very difficult one, challenging the scholar not so much from the standpoint of data or materials of research as from that of theory. The role of the corporation in modern society has never been adequately thought through by legal, social, or economic theorists. Noncorporeal, but quite real, the corporation, of both the profit and nonprofit variety, has established substates and subcommunities within our political and geographical divisions.<sup>24</sup> It has created both highly responsible and highly irresponsible entities with which all citizens are forced to deal, and under the jurisdiction of which most citizens spend a large part of their lives. The resultant problems of historical interpretation are too complex to discuss here, and have been in fact too complex for the wisdom of modern society, but complexity and difficulty are not valid excuses for historical neglect.

In summary, at the center of any social science synthesis, determining its topical and chronological divisions, should be the changes, whether material or psychological, that have most affected, or threatened most to affect, such human conditioning factors as family life, physical living conditions, choice of occupations, sources of prestige, and social beliefs. While the historical analysis itself must, in our present stage of psychological knowledge, be concerned with concrete physical, political, or social changes or events, these should be assigned place and importance on the basis of their estimated relation to underlying social forces. The precise social effect of the rapid rise of the corporation from 1850 to 1873, for example, cannot be measured, but the social scientist is reasonably sure that it is of more importance than the presidential aspirations of Horatio Seymour.

For the period since the middle of the nineteenth century, the source material exists to make and ultimately to amplify a synthesis based on changes in major social forces.<sup>25</sup> While my personal bias leads me to believe

<sup>24</sup> For discussion of the subcommunity or subgovernmental aspects of corporations, see A. M. Schlesinger, "Biography of a Nation of Joiners," *American Historical Review*, L (October, 1944), 1-25; Guy Stanton Ford, *On and Off the Campus* (Minneapolis, 1938), pp. 149-51; and Stuart A. Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York, 1922). For some suggestions of needed studies, see Charles A. Beard, "Corporations and Natural Rights," *Virginia Quarterly*, XII (July, 1936), 345 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, the forthcoming handbook of historical statistics prepared by the United States Census Bureau in co-operation with a committee of the Social Science Research Council.



that business and economic changes should be recognized as the most dynamic elements, further investigation may reveal alterations in family life or in social beliefs not stemming directly from business sources as more powerfully operative. But as long as the historian will equip himself with the knowledge necessary to probe these deeper levels, and approach the problems with the tools of theory and hypothesis, all social scientists must applaud the results as steps in the direction of historical realism.

Such a backbone of synthesis would not only sweep away the presidential structure but demolish most of the other familiar landmarks as well. War studied as a social institution would preserve its importance, but war as an arbitrary milestone for historical periodization would probably disappear. The Civil War, for example, that great divide of American historiography, viewed in the light of these long-run social criteria, shrinks in magnitude. Even in the deep South, the dramatic change in race and property relations brought on by the war will lose some of its importance when measured against a deeper background of the gradual social changes coming from the increase in middle-class farmers and industrial workers.<sup>26</sup> In any case, for nations as a whole, basic social change seems to come less cataclysmically than is indicated by wars or revolutions. Periodization should be recognized as wholly arbitrary and dependent upon the central focus of the synthesis employed. From the business and economic standpoints, for example, 1850 and 1885 are available points for periodization, the one symbolically marking the beginning of the rapid opening of a national industrial market, the latter roughly coinciding with the rise of a number of large semimonopolistic business units and the beginning of federal regulation; but if the family or urbanism is made the central phenomena other dates might be selected.

For those historians who will mourn the passing of the historiographic sway of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian Democracy, the Era of Good Feeling, the Irrepressible Conflict, the Tragic Era, the Square Deal, the New Freedom, and the New Deal, there is the poor consolation that time must, in any case, doom the ancient subdivisions. When the United States is even two hundred years old instead of a hundred and fifty, it will no longer be possible to take up each presidential administration. Broader and less detailed syntheses will be demanded by the exigencies of space and time, and it will be up to the historian to choose whether he will avail himself of the aid offered by the social sciences or attempt an intuitive resynthesis of the type presented by Spengler or Toynbee.

<sup>26</sup> See Herbert Weaver, *Mississippi Farmers, 1850-1860*, (Nashville, Tenn., 1945); and other studies directed by Frank Owsley at Vanderbilt University.



\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church

ISABEL M. CALDER\*

IN the early seventeenth century the English Puritans engaged in manifold activities to bring church and state into harmony with their conception of the word of God. Their efforts to increase their representation in the House of Commons and to gain outlets in the New World, notably in New England and Old Providence Island, are well understood. The attempt of a group of influential London Puritans to mold the Church of England more to their liking has received but scant attention.

Before the Reformation much ecclesiastical revenue had been detached from particular churches and bestowed upon religious houses and secular clergy other than the incumbents of the livings to which the revenue pertained. With the Reformation and the dissolution of the monasteries, a great deal of this revenue had found its way into lay hands. If these impropriations—as ecclesiastical revenue in lay hands was called—could be acquired by the Puritans, retained in their possession, and doled out to ministers and schoolmasters who had their approval, in time the Puritan faction would have great influence in the Anglican Church. The purpose of this essay is to trace this clever plan for the infiltration of the church from its inception until William Laud, bishop of London, realized the threat and checked it. The voluminous records kept by this Puritan group have disappeared, but the story can be reconstructed from the evidence presented when these Puritans were questioned in the Court of Exchequer in 1632–1633.<sup>1</sup> The failure of this Puritan enterprise, for fail it did, is part of the story of the apparent failure of the Puritans to gain power in parliament and the church in England. This and

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<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, Bills, Answers, etc., Charles I, London and Middlesex, No. 533, gives the information filed by Attorney General Noy before the equity side of the Court of Exchequer against the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations and the answers of the defendants; British Museum, Harleian MS. 832, eighty folios written on both sides, apparently an eighteenth century copy of a contemporary account of the trial of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations before the Court of Exchequer, gives the proceedings before the court January 31, February 7, and February 11, 1633. For these references I am indebted to Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire. Unless another source is cited, all information regarding the organization of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations, their activities, the properties and rights acquired by the group, and their trial before the Court of Exchequer is drawn from these sources. The information, answers, and judgment in abbreviated form can be found in John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II (London, 1680), 150–52.

the precarious position of the English in Old Providence Island probably intensified the efforts of the Puritans to establish Christ's Kingdom in New England, and accounts for the wave of migration from Old England to New in the decade of the 1630's.

In the year that Charles I ascended the throne of England twelve Londoners—four clergymen, four lawyers, and four merchants—probably representing a much larger group of Puritans in and about London, associated themselves as feoffees or trustees<sup>2</sup> to raise money with which to purchase impropriations and lands and appurtenances for the maintenance and relief of godly, faithful, and painful (painstaking) ministers of the word of God. Richard Stock, rector of All Hallows, Bread Street; Richard Sibbes, preacher at Gray's Inn and master of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge; Charles Offspring, rector of St. Antholin's; and John Davenport, recently elected vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, were the clerical members of the group. Richard Stock died April 20, 1626, and the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations chose William Gouge, rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, an arch-puritan and something of a money-raiser, to succeed him.<sup>3</sup> Christopher Sherland of Gray's Inn, Samuel Browne and Robert Eyre of Lincoln's Inn, and John White of the Middle Temple represented the law. Upon the death of Christopher Sherland, the feoffees elected Sir Thomas Crew of Gray's Inn to their number in Hilary term, 1632. Francis Bridges, salter, Richard Davis, vintner, John Gearing, grocer, and George Harwood, haberdasher, were the merchants of the group. In order to procure a casting vote, in 1626 the feoffees elected Rowland Heylyn, citizen and ironmonger, alderman and sheriff of London, as a thirteenth member of the company of feoffees. When Heylyn died in February, 1632, the feoffees chose Nicholas Rainton, citizen and haberdasher, alderman and sheriff, and in 1632–1633 lord mayor of London, to fill his place. Until he left England in 1629, Hugh Peter associated himself with the feoffees and solicited gifts as though he were one of the group.<sup>4</sup> Both

<sup>2</sup> In the seventeenth century and subsequently, vestries of English parishes frequently elected groups of feoffees or trustees—the words were used interchangeably—to manage, lease, and even, on the orders of the vestry and the Court of Chancery, sell real property which had come into the possession of the parish, the income to be used for charitable or other public purposes. These groups of feoffees were unincorporated and the individual feoffee apparently served until he was replaced by the vestry of the parish, removed from the parish, or died. Thus, on April 30, 1633, a general vestry of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, chose a group of feoffees for the lands of the poor and the almshouse. St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, Vestry Minute Book, 1622–1726. From time to time in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries the vestry of St. Antholin's, London, chose feoffees to manage the real property that had been acquired by the parish to endow the St. Antholin lectures. Guildhall Library, MSS. 1045/1–4, St. Antholin's, London, Vestry Minutes, 1648–1849.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of Thirty-Two English Divines* (London, 1677), pp. 234–47; William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York, 1938), pp. 67–69.

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, DXV, no. 146; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1645–1647*, pp. 587–88, where an undated letter of Hugh Peter is erroneously

Peter and one Vicars, probably John Vicars, usher at Christ's Hospital, London, and a rabid Puritan, were at a gathering of the feoffees in 1628 and promised their best help toward the furtherance of the work. Thomas Foxley, early morning lecturer at St. Antholin's, London, was so closely associated with the feoffees that he was named a defendant when the group was brought before the Court of Exchequer. As originally constituted, the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were Londoners, and the group ruled that in the future eight of their number must be residents of London at the time of their election. Actually, during an active existence of about seven years the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were all Londoners, and included such adventurers in the Massachusetts Bay Company as John Davenport, Samuel Browne, John White, Francis Bridges, Richard Davis, and George Harwood, and an original member of the Providence Island Company, Christopher Sherland.<sup>5</sup> The group considered incorporation by letters patent or act of parliament. Thus, the four lawyers were ordered to consider incorporation by act of parliament, November 16, 1628. The feoffees did not follow up the idea, however, and neither letters patent nor act of parliament incorporating the group was ever procured. The feoffees were, therefore, without a legal name, and were variously known as "feoffees for the purchase of impropriations" and, after they undertook the management of the early morning lectures at St. Antholin's, London, "collectors of St. Antholin's."

The feoffees for the purchase of impropriations began to keep written records of their activities in 1626. Between February 15, 1626,<sup>6</sup> and March 15, 1632, the group met in secret councils and assemblies at one another's houses and chambers and occasionally in the home of an important contributor. Outsiders sometimes attended these gatherings with the consent of the feoffees. At first these meetings occurred two or three times a term, but toward the end the feoffees were meeting as often as twice a week during term time. At such meetings the feoffees fined those of their number who failed to attend and made orders regulating their organization and the properties and rights which they were acquiring. A president presided over these gatherings.<sup>7</sup> Numerous books were kept: a book of orders and constitutions;

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assigned to 1647. The letter was written during the time when Rowland Heylyn was treasurer of the company of feoffees, *i.e.*, between January 4, 1627, and December 27, 1627.

<sup>5</sup> Frances Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and Its Predecessors* (New York, 1930), pp. 130-61; Arthur P. Newton, *The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans* (New Haven, 1914), p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> Throughout this article year dates are given according to the new style calendar.

<sup>7</sup> On February 8, 1628, Richard Sibbes was chosen president until the next meeting; and on February 13, 1630, Rowland Heylyn was chosen president. On February 15, 1626, provision was made for a treasurer and after his admission as a feoffee, January 4, 1627, Rowland Heylyn served as treasurer of the organization. On December 27, 1627, John Gearing was chosen treasurer, and seems to have retained that office throughout the existence of the feoffees.

a great parchment ledger, under several locks, so large as to be unportable,<sup>8</sup> in which all gifts and purchases were entered; two books of accounts, one kept by the feoffees and one kept by Treasurer Gearing; and, after the feoffees undertook the management of the St. Antholin lectures about 1628, a parchment volume concerning the St. Antholin lectureships, kept by John White. Without reward or expectation, Thomas St. Nicholas served as secretary, and, to supervise accounts, the feoffees made use of one or two auditors.<sup>9</sup>

During the brief existence of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations, Puritan sympathizers, residing chiefly in London, contributed £6,361 6s. 1d. in amounts ranging from six shillings to five hundred pounds, a total which compares favorably with the stocks raised by the Providence Island Company.<sup>10</sup> Property, annuities, bequests, bonds of debtors, and desperate debts were accepted by the feoffees, and collected, at law if necessary. Agents were dispatched to persuade hesitant contributors of the worth of the project.<sup>11</sup> Occasionally a gift was made for a special purpose. Thus, Sir William Whitmore contributed £500 in 1629 on condition that the feoffees increase the stipends of a preacher at Bridgnorth, Shropshire, and a curate at Claverley, Shropshire, from £5 and £8 per annum to £50 per annum apiece. Funds in the possession of the feoffees were loaned out at five and six per cent interest. Outstanding among the contributors was Gabriel Barber, an original member of the Providence Island Company.

During their years of activity the feoffees disbursed £8,073 9s. 1d. This was £1,712 3s. 0d. more than they had collected. Toward this deficit they contributed £516 5s. 0d. out of their own purses, leaving a net deficit of £1,195 18s. 0d.

Acquisitions of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were made not in the name of the group but in the name of one, two, or three of the feoffees, their heirs and assigns. Upon request of a majority of the feoffees or in case of the resignation of a feoffee, property belonging to the group in the name of one of their number was to be resigned as a majority of the remaining feoffees might desire. If a feoffee died without resigning property belonging to the group, his executors or administrators were to give bond for the performance of the will of the feoffees. A majority of the feoffees might remove one of their number.

<sup>8</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, DXV, no. 146.

<sup>9</sup> On May 21, 1626, William Levans was appointed as servant to serve for wages of £20 per annum, and during his six and one quarter years of service had two livery coats at the expense of the feoffees. On May 3, 1627, Walter Price, tailor, was chosen collector for the feoffees.

<sup>10</sup> Newton, pp. 58–59, 210–11, 249–51.

<sup>11</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, DXV, no. 146.

With gathering momentum the feoffees acquired title to ecclesiastical revenue and real property:

1625

The impropriation pertaining to the priory church of St. Peter, Dunstable, Bedfordshire.

1626

The inheritance of part of the impropriation pertaining to All Saints', Hertford.  
The impropriation pertaining to the church of St. John Baptist, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.

1628

A lease of tithes and a barn<sup>12</sup> at Cotton, Shropshire, pertaining to St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire.

The impropriation pertaining to St. Andrew's, Presteign, in the counties of Hereford and Radnor.

1629

A lease for three lives of tithes and glebe lands at Stafford, Lichfield, Pipe, and Williford, Staffordshire, part of the prebend of Pipa Minor or Prees in Lichfield Cathedral.

A lease of certain tithes at Lyme Regis and Halstock, Dorsetshire, pertaining to the prebend of Lyme Regis and Halstock in Salisbury Cathedral.

A lease of the impropriation pertaining to St. Martin's, Tipton, Staffordshire.

1630

A lease of tithes and offerings worth £50 per annum, part of the rectory impropriate of St. Peter's, Kinvere, Staffordshire.

A chapel and a little house called the "Hermitage" at Harringworth, Northamptonshire.

The impropriation pertaining to St. Thomas's and lands and tenements at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.

1631

Certain messuages and lands in Southwark and elsewhere in Surrey and lands in Lincolnshire.<sup>13</sup>

A lease for three lives of the impropriation pertaining to the church of St. Mary the Virgin and a lease of two rents consisting of a mansion house, other houses, manors, court-leet and court fines at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, pertaining to the prebend of Aylesbury in Lincoln Cathedral.

A perpetuity of tithes, the churchyard, and the Easter-book of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and a house and messuage at Lingfield, Surrey.

The impropriation pertaining to the church of St. John the Baptist, Mainstone, Shropshire.

Undated

Tithes of the abbey church of St. Mary the Virgin, Sherborne, Dorsetshire, constituting the prebend of Sherborne, until the dissolution of the monasteries a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, and since that date, a lay prebend.

A future estate in land and other real property at Finchingfield or one of the Bardfields, Essex.

<sup>12</sup> The great tithe barn near the Bird-in-hand, in 1825 recently pulled down and converted into stables. Hugh Owen and J. B. Blakeway, *A History of Shrewsbury* (London, 1825), II, 273.

<sup>13</sup> Bequeathed by John Marshall. At the time the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were dissolved by the Court of Exchequer, the group had not received Marshall's bequest.

The feoffees considered purchasing the impropriation pertaining to the church of St. Nicholas, Plumstead, Kent, but after inquiry did not do so.

In the early seventeenth century schemes for the return of impropriations to the churches to which they pertained in order that the revenue might be enjoyed by the incumbents of the livings were numerous.<sup>14</sup> Bishop Laud had long planned for the return of impropriations to the parish churches.<sup>15</sup> But the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations made no effort to return the impropriations, glebe lands, and other ecclesiastical property which they acquired to the parishes to which the revenue and property belonged. It was the avowed purpose of the feoffees to use the revenue of the properties that came into their possession to maintain and relieve godly, faithful, and painful ministers of the word of God, but they intended to select and control the recipients of their benevolence. As impropiators they could neither present permanent incumbents to the various livings of which they had acquired all or part of the revenue nor remove permanent incumbents from those livings. They were under a moral obligation, however, to see that the incumbents had adequate maintenance. By retaining possession of impropriations and other ecclesiastical property which they had acquired and bestowing the revenue upon ministers and schoolmasters who had their approval, sometimes a vicar or curate in the parish to which the revenue pertained, sometimes a lecturer or schoolmaster far distant from the source of the revenue, the feoffees could encourage godly, able, and fruitful preachers of the word of God. By withholding any share in the revenue of a parish from an incumbent of whom they disapproved, they could force unsatisfactory ministers out of office. Indeed, the feoffees occasionally went farther and paid a stubborn incumbent to surrender his place. In 1627 they got rid of John Burgen or Burgoyne, curate of the church of St. John Baptist, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, the impropriation of which was owned by the feoffees, by offering him the Easterbook, an official cure, and £30, and troubling and forcing him to agree with them. After the departure of Burgen, the feoffees installed Alexander Gregory as curate of St. John Baptist, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and over a five-

<sup>14</sup> By a will dated February 12, 1623, and proved in the same year, Mary, Lady Weld bequeathed £2,000 to the Merchant Taylors' Company of London to be used as a revolving fund to buy one or more rectories or parsonages impropriate. In each rectory or parsonage acquired the company was authorized to provide a learned and godly minister who would live in the cure and who held no other living, who would receive two thirds of the revenue from the impropriation pertaining to the church until the original cost of the impropriation had been recovered by the Merchant Taylors' Company, and, thereafter, the full revenue. Upon recovering the original cost of the impropriation, the Merchant Taylors' Company was authorized to buy one or more additional impropriations to be dealt with in the same way. The Merchant Taylors' Company refused the responsibility and, by a decree of the Court of Chancery, the Haberdashers' Company of London undertook the trust. Somerset House, P. C. C., 28 Swann; City of London Livery Companies' Commission, *Report and Appendix* (London, 1884), II, 469; IV, 476-77.

<sup>15</sup> William Laud, *Works* (Oxford, 1847-60), III, 253, 255; IV, 304.



year period paid him the profits of the living plus £60. Through clergymen selected by the feoffees and dependent upon them, the church established by Henry VIII was to be remodeled and purified.

To increase the dependency of the clergy upon them, the feoffees soon went beyond the acquisition of impropriations and real property in order that they might dole out the resulting revenue to ministers who had their approval. During their brief period of activity they acquired a scattered but considerable list of advowsons to rectories and vicarages and nomination, appointment, maintenance in whole or in part, or approval of curates, lecturers, and schoolmasters.<sup>16</sup>

Acquisition of the management of the St. Antholin lectureships in London aided the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations to train a preaching ministry to fill the many places at their disposal. These lectures had been established in 1559. From the beginning the lectures had been tinged with

<sup>16</sup> When the feoffees were finally brought before the Court of Exchequer to explain their activities, one or more of the members of the group held: maintenance of the curate of the priory church of St. Peter, Dunstable, Bedfordshire; advowson to the vicarage of All Saints', Hertford, and maintenance of the vicar; maintenance of the curate of the church of St. John Baptist, Cirencester, Gloucestershire; advowson to the vicarage of All Saints' at Chipping or High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, and maintenance of the vicar; appointment and maintenance of a learned and conformable lecturer or preacher in the church of St. John the Baptist, Womersley, Surrey, after the death of Mary, Lady Wolley, and, meanwhile, a payment of £60 per annum to the curate or vicar of that church; maintenance of the curate of the recently rebuilt church of St. Michael, South Malling, near Lewes, Sussex; advowson to the vicarage of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, and annual payment of £30 to the vicar of that church; possibly maintenance of the lecturer at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire; advowson to the vicarage of St. Andrew's, Presteign, in the counties of Hereford and Radnor; nomination and maintenance of six early morning lecturers at St. Antholin's, London; the annual payment of £10 to the rector of St. Antholin's, London; advowson to the rectory of St. Peter's and St. John's, Dunwich, Suffolk; a lease for several lives of the advowson to the vicarage of St. Michael the Archangel, Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire; a lease for several lives of the nomination of the curate of St. Mary's, Halstock, Dorsetshire; approval and annual payment of £20 to a preacher at Beaulieu or elsewhere in Hampshire; approval and annual payment of £20 to a Thursday afternoon lecturer to be chosen by the parish at All Hallows, Bread Street, London; the next presentation to the rectory of St. Martin's, Birmingham, Warwickshire; a lease of the nomination of the curate of St. Martin's, Tipton, Staffordshire, and maintenance of the curate; nomination of and maintenance to increase his stipend to £50 per annum to a preacher or curate at St. Leonard's or at the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shropshire; nomination of and maintenance to increase his stipend to £50 per annum to a curate at All Saints', Claverley, Shropshire; advowson to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Neen Savage, Shropshire; nomination and maintenance of the curate of St. Peter's, Kinver, Staffordshire; nomination and maintenance of a schoolmaster at Kinver, Staffordshire; nomination of a chaplain at Harringworth, Northamptonshire; maintenance of the curate at St. Thomas's, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire; patronage of the rectory of Christ Church to be erected by the feoffees in St. Saviour's parish, Southwark, Surrey; annual payment of twenty marks to the rector of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Stamford, Lincolnshire, and, after his death or removal, approval and annual payment of twenty marks to a preacher at All Hallows, Stamford, Lincolnshire; donation of the prebend of Aylesbury in Lincoln Cathedral; a lease for three lives of the advowson to the vicarage of St. Mary the Virgin, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; donation and maintenance of a schoolmaster at Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; nomination of the curate of St. Peter's and St. Paul's, Lingfield, Surrey; advowson to the rectory of All Saints', Worcester; nomination and maintenance of a sufficient and able preacher to lecture on Tuesday or Thursday weekly throughout the year at Great Marlowe, Buckinghamshire; advowson to the vicarage of St. John the Baptist, Mayfield, Staffordshire.



Calvinism. Originally three lecturers had each preached twice a week at six o'clock in the morning. By 1628 the number of early morning lecturers at St. Antholin's, London, had been increased to five. About 1628 the feoffees assumed the financing and administration of the lectures. One hundred ninety-eight men and women in and about London subscribed £1,554 13s. 4d. to buy impropriations or other hereditaments to maintain the lectureships better, and the feoffees increased the stipend of each lecturer to £30 per annum, and provided for an annual payment of £10 to Charles Offspring, rector of St. Antholin's and one of the feoffees. In this transaction Francis Bridges, who had been one of the collectors for the lecturers at St. Antholin's and at this time was one of the feoffees, seems to have been especially active. To endow the lectureships at St. Antholin's, London, in May, 1628, the feoffees bought the impropriation pertaining to St. Andrew's, Presteign, in the counties of Hereford and Radnor, at a cost of £1,400. By March 17, 1629, the feoffees had increased the number of early morning preachers at St. Antholin's to six.<sup>17</sup> When a vacancy occurred among the six, the feoffees nominated two candidates for the vacancy, and the rector of the church, at the time one of the feoffees, admitted one of the nominees as lecturer. It was planned that after six years at St. Antholin's, the lecturers were to be dispersed through the country, to fill other positions at the disposal of the feoffees. In other words, the St. Antholin lectureships were to serve as a seminary under the eyes of the feoffees for the training of a godly, faithful, and painful ministry of the word of God.

When the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations were questioned in the Court of Exchequer in 1632-1633, they claimed that the right to present incumbents to rectories and vicarages had come to them as unsought gifts or had been voluntarily cast in with impropriations. Yet the group admitted that they had gone to considerable expense to acquire the next presentation to the rectory of St. Martin's, Birmingham, Warwickshire; the advowson to the vicarage of St. Mary's, Neen Savage, Shropshire; and the advowson to the rectory of All Saints', Worcester. They had offered to repair the decayed church of St. John sub Castro at Lewes, Sussex, in return for the right to nominate the incumbent of the living, and had offered Francis Russell, fourth earl of Bedford, £1,000 for the advowson to St. Paul's, about to be erected in Covent Garden.

To satisfy the existing hierarchy, the feoffees ruled that they would present only ministers conformable to the government and discipline of the Church of England to the various livings that they controlled. To mold the

<sup>17</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, CXXXVIII, no. 86.

Anglican Church more to their liking, they bestowed their benevolence upon ministers who in their judgment qualified as able, fruitful preachers of the word of God. In practice they presented no rector or vicar until the nominee had been allowed by the ordinary, *i.e.*, the bishop of the diocese or his deputy. At the time of their trial, however, the feoffees were accused of favoring the appointment of temporary curates and lecturers, whose allowance by the ordinary was unnecessary and whom they could remove at will. They retained firm control over all appointees. Before presenting a minister to any vicarage, parsonage, or to enjoy any stipend, they required the nominee to give bond amounting to double the value of the place that he would resign within six months if he officiated in any other cure, church, or chapel without the consent of the feoffees.

During their brief existence the feoffees had opportunity to fill only a few of the offices that they controlled. Furthermore, only an incomplete list of their appointees and protégés can be made.<sup>18</sup> And these appointees and protégés looked not toward the Anglican hierarchy but toward their Puritan sponsors. Brief biographies of a few of them will indicate the type of clergyman to whom the feoffees were willing to entrust the Church of England.

Zachary Symmes, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, holder of the degrees of bachelor and master of arts, seems to have served his apprenticeship in preaching as one of the early morning lecturers at St. Antholin's, London, before the feoffees undertook the management of those lectures. When the

<sup>18</sup> Zachary Symmes was installed as curate of the priory church of St. Peter at Dunstable, Bedfordshire, and over a seven-year period was paid the impropriation of the church plus £20 per annum; John Archer was presented to the vicarage of All Saints', Hertford, and paid all profits of the living plus £60 per annum; Alexander Gregory was installed as curate of the church of St. John Baptist, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and over a five-year period was paid the profits of the living plus £60; Gerard Dobson was presented to the vicarage of All Saints' at Chipping or High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire, and over a two-year period was paid £80; Stephen Gere, at first curate or lecturer and in 1629 vicar of the church of St. John the Baptist, Womersley, Surrey, was paid £60 a year by the terms of the gift of Mary, Lady Wolley; Boras Coxall, curate of the recently rebuilt church of St. Michael at South Malling, near Lewes, Sussex, over a three-year period was paid £30; Thomas Lloyd, vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, was paid £30 per annum by the terms of the grant of the advowson to the living by the crown to Rowland Heylyn, and transferred by Heylyn to the feoffees; Julines Herring, lecturer at St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, may have been maintained by the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations; Edward Spendelowe, Thomas Foxley, John Archer, and one Norton, early morning lecturers at St. Antholin's, London, were paid £30 per annum apiece; Charles Offspring, rector of St. Antholin's, London, one of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations, was paid £10 per annum; one Peirce or Price was presented to the rectory of St. Peter's and St. John's, Dunwich, Suffolk; one Robinson, probably Hugh Robinson, minister or preacher at Beaulieu, Hampshire, was paid £20 per annum by the terms of the bequest of Daniel Elliott; George Hughes, Thursday afternoon lecturer at All Hallows, Bread Street, London, was chosen by the parish August 23, 1632, probably with the approval of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations, and was to have been paid £20 per annum by them by the terms of the bequest of Daniel Elliott; Gilbert Walden, curate of All Saints', Claverley, Shropshire, had his stipend increased to £50 per annum by the terms of the gift of Sir William Whitmore; John Vicars, rector of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Stamford, Lincolnshire, was to have been paid twenty marks per annum by the terms of the bequest of John Marshall.

feoffees acquired the impropriation of the priory church of St. Peter, Dunstable, Bedfordshire, in April, 1625, they got rid of an incumbent who was unsatisfactory to them and installed Symmes as curate. Over a seven-year period the feoffees paid Symmes the impropriation of the living plus £20 a year. After the suppression of the feoffees, Symmes departed for New England.<sup>19</sup>

John Archer, possibly of Magdalene College, Cambridge, holder of the master of arts degree, was Wednesday early morning lecturer at St. Antholin's, London, February 24, 1629, and was remembered as one who had lectured at St. Antholin's, August 29, 1630. He next appeared as preacher at All Hallows, Lombard Street, London, on Sunday afternoons. For not catechizing in harmony with the Book of Common Prayer, he was suspended, censured, and deprived of his office by Bishop Laud, but submitted and seems to have been restored to office. Upon the request of Gabriel Barber, donor of the advowson, and the people of Hertford, the feoffees presented him to the vicarage of All Saints', Hertford, where he was instituted May 3, 1631, and enjoyed all profits, plus £60 a year paid by the feoffees. On July 13, 1638, he had been absent from his charge for more than a year, and stood suspended by the crown.<sup>20</sup>

By the terms of the grant of the advowson to the vicarage of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury, Shropshire, to Rowland Heylyn by the crown, and subsequently conveyed to the feoffees, the feoffees were obligated to pay Thomas Lloyd, vicar, £30 per annum. Lloyd was a Puritan but no preacher, and since 1618 his efforts had been supplemented by those of Julines Herring. Lecturer Herring may have been taken into the pay of the feoffees. He had been admitted scholar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in May, 1600, at the age of eighteen, and received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1604. He was ordained by an Irish bishop, who waived the subscription required by English bishops. Before settling at Shrewsbury, he had been a noted preacher at Calke, Derbyshire. To his sermons at that place "the people came from twenty towns and villages, flocking like doves. They came in the morning and stayed till night, 'some bringing their victuals from home with them and others going to a three-penny ordinary provided purposely for the refreshing of strangers.'" At St. Alkmund's he preached on Tuesday morning and on the Sabbath at one o'clock in order not to interfere with the

<sup>19</sup> *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, comp. by John and J. A. Venn; John Adams Vinton, *The Symmes Memorial* (Boston, 1873).

<sup>20</sup> *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; Somerset House, P. C. C., wills of Daniel Elliott and William Drewe, 71 Ridley, 110 St. John; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631*, pp. 407, 485, 495, 532, 546; 1637-1638, p. 563; Lewis Turnor, *History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Hertford* (Hertford, 1830), p. 190.

regular services, repeating his sermon before supper in the evening at the house of a friend. He was loyal to the king but scrupulous in matters of ceremony and, after the time of the feoffees, was finally suspended. During his stay in Shrewsbury, he and his large family seem to have lived in a hall rented from the Drapers' Company of Shrewsbury for £4 a year. On April 14, 1635, he was behind in his rent and apparently had left Shrewsbury. In 1637 he crossed the Channel to become co-pastor of the English congregation at Amsterdam. In 1643 he apparently was under consideration as vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Coventry, Warwickshire, and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster certified him to the House of Commons as a "Man every way sufficient to the Work of the Ministry." He remained in Holland, however, and died at Amsterdam March 28, 1644.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Foxley, the associate of the feoffees, had been admitted pensioner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, July 1, 1597. He had been one of the early morning lecturers at St. Antholin's, London, since 1622. When the feoffees acquired control of those lectures about 1628, he was taken into their employ and paid £30 per annum. As a fifteen-year-old apprentice running away from his master, William Kiffin was so impressed by a sermon on the Fifth Commandment by Foxley at St. Antholin's that he returned to his master and resolved to attend the preaching of the Puritans. After the suppression of the feoffees, Foxley was brought before the Privy Council in May, 1639, for preaching against the government of the Church of England and refusing to take the oath *ex officio*. On the order of the Council he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, "in a Chamber, not four yards square," without pen, ink, or paper. When the Long Parliament assembled, he was speedily released, and stood in high favor with parliament.<sup>22</sup>

To William Laud the activities of the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations seemed "a cunning way, under a glorious pretence, to overthrow the Church Government, by getting into their power more dependency of the clergy, than the King, and all the Peers, and all the Bishops in all the kingdom had," and he set out to overthrow the enterprise.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps he encouraged Peter Heylyn, a relative of the president of the company

<sup>21</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Commons' Journals*, III, 199b, 203b-204a; Clarke, pp. 160-68; Owen and Blakeway, II, 279-80n.; Haller, p. 62.

<sup>22</sup> *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *Lords' Journals*, IV, 172a; *Commons' Journals*, II, 35b, 69a, 564a; VI, 60a, 65b-66a, 100a, 199b, 227a (bis), 261a; Wallace Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes from the Beginning of the Long Parliament to the Opening of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford* (New Haven, 1923), pp. 64, 259, 542; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1639, pp. 97-98, 115, 120, 263, 406-407, 469; 1639-1640, p. 65; 1640, p. 398; 1640-1641, p. 379; William Prynne, *Canterburies Doome* (London, 1646), pp. 387-88; Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark* . . . , I (London, 1808), 403-404.

<sup>23</sup> Laud, III, 253; IV, 303.

of feoffees but also the "great Minion" of Laud to denounce the enterprise in a sermon preached at St. Mary's "in *Oxford* before the whole *University*, . . . on Sunday in the afternoon the 11<sup>th</sup> of *July* 1630."<sup>24</sup> Laying the problem before Charles I, the bishop was referred to William Noy, the attorney general.<sup>25</sup>

Noy quickly saw that the feoffees were without authorization from either crown or parliament, and that they were concentrating their attention on preachers in towns represented in the House of Commons at a moment when relations between king and parliament were at their lowest ebb. He felt that the feoffees had acquired "too great a power of Steerage in the Church." Charging that the group had infringed the royal prerogative by erecting themselves into a corporation which made canons ecclesiastical and ordinances—for so the attorney general termed the orders which the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations had made in their assemblies and meetings—Noy filed an information against the thirteen feoffees, one of their associates, their liveried servant, and their collector, in the equity side of the Court of Exchequer in Easter term, 1632. He asked the dissolution of the company of feoffees and the surrender of all property and rights that had been acquired by the group to the crown to be employed aright and as Noy believed the donors had intended.

The individuals composing the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations and their associate, servant, and collector filed their answers to Noy's complaint in Trinity term, 1632, and on June 12, 1632, the court ordered the group to show cause why they should not produce their books, writings, and evidences. On January 31, February 7, and February 11, 1633, Richard, Lord Weston, Lord High Treasurer of England, Francis, Lord Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and Sir John Denham, Sir Thomas Trevor, and Sir James Weston, puisne barons of the Court of Exchequer, sitting in the Exchequer Chamber as the equity side of the Court of Exchequer,<sup>26</sup> listened to counsel on both sides of the case. The name of Nicholas Rainton, lord mayor of London, appeared among those of the defendants! On the last day of the trial the attorney general announced that he had been instructed by Charles I not to proceed against the individual feoffees as criminals at that time, and

<sup>24</sup> Prynne, p. 386.

<sup>25</sup> Laud, IV, 303.

<sup>26</sup> The equity side of the Court of Exchequer, composed of the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Baron, and three puisne barons, meeting in the Exchequer Chamber, should not be confused with the Court of Exchequer Chamber, a court of appeal on questions of law, composed of the judges of the three central, common-law courts. See Montague S. Giuseppi, *A Guide to the Manuscripts Preserved in the Public Record Office*, I (London, 1923), 75-76.

John Davenport hastened home to record in his Great Bible his gratitude to God for that decision.<sup>27</sup>

On February 13, 1633, the equity side of the Court of Exchequer handed down a decision dated February 11, 1633. The feoffees were ordered to hold no more assemblies, to make no more ordinances, and to present incumbents nominated by the crown to the various livings to which they held the advowsons. The court authorized the appointment of a commission to investigate the properties acquired by the feoffees and ordered the sale of their real properties.<sup>28</sup>

On January 17, 1634, Charles I authorized a commission to consult with the attorney general and consider whether the former feoffees should be proceeded against criminally and, if so, whether in the Court of Exchequer or in the Star Chamber,<sup>29</sup> but, because the project had had public approval, and perhaps because of the pressure of other business, criminal prosecution was never pressed.

The period from 1633 to 1640 was a discouraging time for the erstwhile feoffees for the purchase of impropriations. All impropriations, properties, and rights which they had acquired in seven years were now in the hands of the crown. At the time of the trial Charles I had let it be known that he would not poison his treasure with such ill-gotten gains, and that no penny given for the purchase of impropriations should be turned to other uses.<sup>30</sup> A beginning was made in returning the impropriations acquired by the feoffees to the parish churches to which the revenue pertained<sup>31</sup> and in accumulating a surplus from the revenue of the properties acquired by the feoffees with which to meet obligations incurred by them.<sup>32</sup> When a vacancy occurred in a living to which the feoffees had acquired the advowson, it was filled by a nominee of the crown.<sup>33</sup>

During these years of tribulation the ranks of the former feoffees began to thin. Sir Thomas Crew died February 1, 1634; Richard Sibbes died at Gray's Inn July 5, 1635; and Robert Eyre died shortly before October 23, 1638. John Davenport went to Holland in 1633 and to New England in 1637.

When the Long Parliament assembled, November 3, 1640, John White of the Middle Temple, one of the former feoffees, appeared as a member of

<sup>27</sup> Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), Book III, p. 52.

<sup>28</sup> Public Record Office, Exchequer Decrees, IV, ff. 88-91; Laud, III, 216-17.

<sup>29</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, CCLIX, no. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Laud, IV, 304.

<sup>31</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1638-1639*, p. 627; 1640, p. 80; 1625-1649, p. 605; Jonathan Williams, *A General History of the County of Radnor* (Brecknock, 1905), pp. 204-206.

<sup>32</sup> Public Record Office, C. 66: 2839, Patent Roll, 14 Charles I, no. 2; State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, Docquets, 1637-1638, December 31, 1638; *Lords' Journals*, VI, 162a.

<sup>33</sup> Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I, CCXLV, no. 27.



the House of Commons. In the following year Samuel Browne of Lincoln's Inn, also a former feoffee, took his seat in the House of Commons. The Long Parliament soon took steps to reverse the decision of the Court of Exchequer and to undo the acts of the crown regarding the former feoffees for the purchase of impropriations and their properties. On December 31, 1640, the House of Commons ordered the committee concerning preaching ministers to consider the Exchequer decree concerning impropriations and to think of some fit way for the reversal of the decree and the continuance of the work.<sup>34</sup> On April 30, 1642, the House ordered a committee to consider the disposition that had been made of funds formerly collected for the buying in of impropriations.<sup>35</sup> On August 1, 1643, the Long Parliament ordered the return of revenues from several of the impropriations and properties that had been acquired by the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations to the surviving feoffees, and expressed the intention of reversing the decree of the Court of Exchequer by act of parliament.<sup>36</sup> On March 23, 1646, the House ordered the books of the feoffees in the custody of the king's remembrancer, the treasurer's remembrancer, or elsewhere in the Exchequer to be returned to the surviving feoffees in order that they might proceed with their pious work.<sup>37</sup> Civil war and the distractions of the kingdom seem to have prevented the perfection of the reversal of the decree of the Court of Exchequer by act of parliament,<sup>38</sup> and on January 12, 1648, five surviving feoffees petitioned the House of Lords for the formal reversal of the decree of the Court of Exchequer.<sup>39</sup> After hearing both king's counsel and counsel for the feoffees, on January 21, 1648, the Lords ordered all the judges to consider how the decree of the Court of Exchequer might be reversed.<sup>40</sup> Following a report of the judges dated February 2, 1648, that the Lords might reverse the decree, on Wednesday, March 8, 1648, the Lords read and passed a judgment condemning the decree of the Court of Exchequer.<sup>41</sup> On March 10, 1648, Walter Hyllary, an officer of the Exchequer, appeared before the Lords with the volume containing the decree of the Court of Exchequer, and John Browne, clerk of the House of Lords, razed seven and one-half pages with his pen.<sup>42</sup>

In their advice of February 2, 1648, the judges had suggested that the

<sup>34</sup> *Commons' Journals*, II, 61a.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 549b.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 186b, 189b-190a; *Lords' Journals*, VI, 154a, 161b, 162a; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum* (London, 1911), III, Table of Acts, xii; Guildhall Library, MSS. 1055, "Case for the opinion of Mr. Bell."

<sup>37</sup> *Commons' Journals*, IV, 484a-b.

<sup>38</sup> *Lords' Journals*, VI, 162a.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 657b, 658a-659a.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 671b.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 23a, 24b-25a, 100b, 102b.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 107a; Public Record Office, Exchequer Decrees, IV, ff. 88-91.



question of the restoration to the feoffees of the property that had been acquired by the group and forfeited to the crown be left to their counsel. An order to restore the property of the feoffees to the surviving feoffees to enable them to continue their work was sent from the Lords to the Commons March 28, 1648,<sup>43</sup> but seems never to have been passed, probably because after the meeting of the Long Parliament and the rise to power of the Puritan faction, an organization of Puritans to control the ministry was no longer necessary.<sup>44</sup>

The restoration of Charles II to the throne of England and the passage of the Act of Uniformity by parliament meant a return to conditions as they were immediately after the decision of the Court of Exchequer, February 11, 1633. All impropriations, properties, and rights that had been acquired by the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations again became the property of the crown. To this, however, there was a single exception.

By the will of John Marshall, dated August 21 and December 11, 1627, and proved April 15, 1631,<sup>45</sup> the feoffees for the purchase of impropriations had been bequeathed property in Southwark and elsewhere in Surrey and in Lincolnshire and the residue of Marshall's estate with which to erect a new church, to be called Christ Church, in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, to which they would hold the advowson. The decree of the Court of Exchequer had dissolved the company of feoffees before they had received Marshall's bequest. After the restoration of Charles II to the throne, proceedings in Chancery were commenced against Sir Samuel Browne, not as the sole surviving feoffee for the purchase of impropriations in England<sup>46</sup> but as the sole survivor of John Marshall's feoffees! By a decree in Chancery, 1663, twelve new trustees were appointed and Browne conveyed the property bequeathed by Marshall to the new group. Land for a church and churchyard was acquired by the trustees and Christ Church parish was erected by act of parliament in March, 1671.<sup>47</sup> A new church was built and consecrated on December 17, 1671.<sup>48</sup> Today John Marshall's feoffees hold

<sup>43</sup> *Commons' Journals*, V, 519a.

<sup>44</sup> Death continued to deplete the ranks of the feoffees: The will of Francis Bridges was proved June 23, 1642; John White died January 29, 1645, and the House of Commons accompanied his body from Middle Temple Hall to Middle Temple Church, February 1, 1645, (*Commons' Journals*, IV, 37b); Sir Nicholas Rainton died August 19, 1646; George Harwood died before January 12, 1648; William Gouge died December 12, 1653; Charles Offspring was buried at St. Antholin's, London, March 13, 1660; Richard Davis and John Gearing died between 1650 and 1663.

<sup>45</sup> Somerset House, P. C. C., 38 St. John.

<sup>46</sup> John Davenport was still living in New England.

<sup>47</sup> 22 and 23 Charles II, Private Acts, c. 28.

<sup>48</sup> Owen Manning and William Bray, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey* (London, 1804-14), III, 530-44.

the advowson to the rectory of Christ Church, Southwark. Thus, although the seventeenth century feoffees for the purchase of impropriations failed in their attempt to remodel the Church of England, they attained perpetuity as John Marshall's feoffees, controlling a single Anglican rectory in Southwark.

## Our First "War" in China: The Diary of William Henry Powell, 1856

JULIUS W. PRATT\*

IN October, 1856, the seizure by the Chinese authorities at Canton of the *Arrow*, a lorch a flying the British flag but manned by a Chinese crew, precipitated hostilities between the British and Chinese, and the British, under command of Rear Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, breached the walls of Canton and occupied a number of the outlying forts.<sup>1</sup> O. H. Perry, United States consul at Canton, demanded of Yeh Ming-ch'ên, Chinese viceroy and imperial commissioner, that he provide protection for American citizens during the progress of Sino-British hostilities. Yeh replied that, because of the difficulty of distinguishing between British and Americans, all Americans had better leave Canton and thus avoid danger. He added that for similar reasons American ships "must not sail about the waters of Heang Shan and such like places."<sup>2</sup>

In the anchorage at Whampoa, twelve miles below Canton, or elsewhere near at hand, were the three vessels constituting the United States East India Squadron: the sloops-of-war *Portsmouth* and *Levant* and the steam frigate *San Jacinto*, flagship of Flag Officer James Armstrong.<sup>3</sup> A party of sailors and marines, with several howitzers, under Commander Andrew H. Foote of the *Portsmouth*, was sent from the three ships to Canton to pro-

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<sup>1</sup> Hosea B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (London, 1910-18), I, 419-33. A lorch a was a ship of two or three masts with a hull of European type but rigged like a Chinese junk.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondence of the Late Commissioners in China* (Senate Executive Document 22, 35 Congress, 2 session, Washington, 1859), II, 1025-28. This compilation is cited hereafter as *Correspondence*. The name of Yeh Ming-ch'ên is here written Yê. Yeh Ming-ch'ên, in the words of his Chinese biographer, had, as a result of success in the civil service examinations, been "placed in positions of responsibility for which he was not fitted. Brutalized by the harsh treatment he had meted out to rebellious natives of Kwangtung [in the T'ai P'ing Rebellion], he came to believe that Westerners might be brought to terms, if not by force, at least by arrogance, obstruction, and interminable delay. He had little conception of the gravity of the international problems involved, and took little or no pains to learn." Tu Lien-chê, in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington, 1944), II, 904-905. It was said to be Yeh's boast "that he had cut off the heads of one hundred thousand rebels, seventy thousand, it is said, in one year." William Maxwell Wood, *Fankwei; or, The San Jacinto in the Seas of India, China and Japan* (New York, 1859), p. 417. Yeh was subsequently (1858) captured by the British and died the next year in captivity at Calcutta.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary of the Navy, *Annual Report*, Dec. 3, 1857 (*House Executive Document 2*, 35 Cong., 1 sess.), p. 576.

tect American lives and property; but on November 15, after consultation with Commander Foote, Commodore Armstrong, in his own words, "resolved to avoid the danger of compromising our neutrality by removing the force from the city of Canton," though it was still his intention to keep a vessel off Canton "as a refuge for the Consul and our citizens in case of a sack of the city."<sup>4</sup> When Foote attempted to return from the conference at Whampoa to Canton to execute the evacuation, his launch, though prominently displaying the United States flag, was fired upon by the Barrier Forts, which guarded the approaches to Canton.<sup>5</sup> Foote returned to Whampoa and reported the attack to Armstrong, who resolved "to redress this outrage upon our Flag." On the next day (November 16) the steamer *Kum Fa* (*Cum Fa* or *Cumfa*) brought down most of the landing party from Canton, whereupon the *Portsmouth* and *Levant* were towed up to the nearer forts (though the *Levant* grounded before reaching her proper station), and a vigorous bombardment silenced the largest of the forts—or, according to the following narrative, two of them. The next three days passed without further fighting.<sup>6</sup>

On November 17 Commodore Armstrong addressed a note to Imperial Commissioner Yeh, explaining that because of the attack on Commander Foote and the United States flag, it had become his duty to assault and silence the Barrier Forts. He asked for an explanation of the attack on the flag and a guarantee that it would be respected in the future, and warned the commissioner that unless a satisfactory reply were forthcoming within twenty-four hours, "I shall take such further steps as I may deem the gravity of the occasion requires."<sup>7</sup> Not till November 20 did Yeh reply. He then expressed surprise that the Americans had not heeded the warnings given to Consul Perry and concluded: "Hereafter, if American vessels, large or small, do not pass these forts, then all will be harmonious and properly arranged." Replying the same day, Armstrong denounced Yeh's note as amounting "to a declaration of war upon the flag of the United States" and declared that it was now his duty to take the necessary steps for

<sup>4</sup> E. N. McClellan, "The Capture of the Barrier Forts in the Canton River, China," *Marine Corps Gazette*, V (September, 1920), 262-76; quotation from p. 263. This article quotes at length from the reports of Armstrong, Foote, and other officers participating in the operation, presumably from manuscripts in the Navy Department. Portions of a diary kept by George M. Colvocoresses, then a naval lieutenant and executive officer of the *Levant*, were published with introductory notes by Harold Colvocoresses in United States Naval Institute, *Proceedings*, LXIV (May, 1938), 680-84 with the title "The Capture and Destruction of the Barrier Forts." The diary describes the destruction of the forts but with much less detail than the diary of William H. Powell, printed below.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the forts see below, p. 785.

<sup>6</sup> McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 1029.

securing to the American flag the right "to free and peaceable passage" on the waters of China. He had already, that very day, been forced to occupy and destroy one of the forts because the Chinese commander was taking advantage of the lull in hostilities to strengthen the fortifications. But he assured the commissioner that "there has not been the least intention, nor is there the least wish on my part, to engage in unprovoked hostilities against the Chinese Empire."<sup>8</sup>

On the following day (November 21) Commodore Armstrong and Dr. Peter Parker, the United States commissioner to China, conferred in Canton with Rear Admiral Seymour, R.N., and Sir John Bowring, governor of Hong Kong. Here the British representatives attempted to enlist the Americans in a joint demand that foreign officials be permitted to meet and negotiate with Chinese authorities in Canton. This proposal the Americans declined. The right in question Parker hoped to secure through a revision of the existing treaty, but he had no warrant for using force to secure it, and "we could not," he said, "complicate our present trouble with the city question. . . ." Thus the Americans preserved their neutrality in the Anglo-Chinese war. They did, however, meet the wishes of the British in agreeing not to withdraw the American flag from Canton, and adhered to that position in the face of Yeh's demand that the United States follow the example of the French and Portuguese, who had consented to remove their flags.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile the attack on the Barrier Forts went forward. By November 22 they had all been captured, and as Yeh still refused any concession, Armstrong preceeded to have them systematically and thoroughly destroyed in the manner described below. December 8 he reported to Parker that on the sixth the demolition had been completed and that the ships had returned to their anchorage at Whampoa, where in a few days all damage that they had sustained would be repaired.<sup>10</sup>

The achievement had been a notable one. The forts were said to be the strongest in China, built of thick granite, mounting 176 guns, and manned by a force estimated at five thousand Chinese. The Americans had used two sloops-of-war, unarmored of course and mounting in all thirty-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1031-32.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1021, 1033-34, 1046; Wood, 451-52. William M. Wood, fleet surgeon for the American squadron, relates that he was present at the interview. Morse (I, 432) and other authorities following him state that the United States consular flag was lowered November 22. The statement is evidently erroneous. Yeh informed Armstrong, November 25, that the French and Portuguese had ordered their consuls in Canton to take down the flags from their houses and requested that the Americans do the same. Armstrong refused emphatically and repeatedly. *Correspondence*, II, 1046, 1047, 1051.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1045.

four guns, and a landing-party of 287 officers, sailors, and marines. American casualties totaled seven killed and twenty-two wounded, not counting several sailors killed by an explosion during the demolition. Chinese rumors placed their own casualties at five hundred, but Commander Foote, who had directed the landing operations, believed they were not more than half that number.<sup>11</sup>

Before the process of demolition was complete, Commissioner Yeh had capitulated. To Armstrong's consistent refusal to withdraw the American flag from Canton and his insistence that it be respected in Chinese waters, Yeh finally replied on December 5: "... There is no matter of strife between our two nations. Henceforth let the fashion of the flag which American ships employ be clearly defined, (or made known,) and inform me what it is beforehand. This will be a verification (or proof) of the friendly relations between our countries."<sup>12</sup> Commissioner Parker was of the opinion that Yeh would still bear watching. "But I think," he added, "we have given him a lesson that he will not soon forget."<sup>13</sup>

William Henry Powell, the author of the diary from which the following passage is transcribed, was a member of the crew of the *San Jacinto*. His diary—for the use of which I am under obligation to Miss Jane Graser of Buffalo—begins on October 4, 1855, the day on which as a new recruit, he was assigned to the *San Jacinto*. That ship left New York for the Far East October 25, 1855. It touched at Cape Town, Mauritius, Ceylon, Penang (where it took aboard Mr. Townsend Harris, first United States consul general and later first United States minister to Japan), and Singapore. At the mouth of the Menam River the *San Jacinto* remained from April 14 to June 2, 1856, while Mr. Harris, Commodore Armstrong, and other officers visited Bangkok, where Harris negotiated a new treaty with Siam. The diary contains some colorful passages descriptive of Bangkok, but does not make it clear whether Powell was in the party visiting the capital or got his details from others. The *San Jacinto* proceeded via Hong Kong to Shimoda, Japan, where Harris was put ashore September 3, 1856. Returning to the south, it picked up at Shanghai Dr. Peter Parker, American commissioner to China, "and laydy," whom it deposited at Macao on November 12, and on the same day joined the *Portsmouth* and *Levant* at Whampoa.

Further details about Powell are meager. His diary, which begins October 4, 1855, ends December 28, 1858. The last entry, apparently written at Hong Kong, reports news of the capture of Imperial Commissioner Yeh

<sup>11</sup> McClellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 264, 273.

<sup>12</sup> *Correspondence*, II, 1052-53.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1045.

Ming-ch'ên by the British. The diary gives Powell's residence as Williamsburgh, Long Island. He was born, according to family records, in July, 1827, at Troy, New York, and died at Corry, Pennsylvania, December 29, 1895. He is said to have served three years in the Navy during the Civil War. His diary is in places forceful and vivid, but he eschewed punctuation and displayed marked individuality in spelling and capitalization. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been left unchanged except for a few corrections, in brackets, where the meaning might otherwise be obscure.

DIARY OF WILLIAM HENRY POWELL

*Nov 15* While Captain Foot<sup>14</sup> of the Portsmouth was going up the river in one of the ships boats boats [*sic*] he was fired upon from the Barrier fort on the right bank of the river and 6 miles from Wampoa [...] he returned and reported the circumstance to the Commodore & who immediately sent orders to Canton to send down all the forces that could be spared as he intended to resent the insult to our flag immediately A boat was sent under the command of Lieu't Williamson to take soundings of the river and while nearly opposist the forts they were fired upon from the forts with grape and cannister and round shot and killed the cokswain Edward Mullen who was for'ard heaving the lead His remains were brought on board and many a bitter oath of vengeance was uttered by the men against the murderers of there shipmate [...] the marine's and the two Howetzers having come down they were transfered with nearly the entire crew of the San Jacinto on board of the Portsmouth & Levant [...] the San Jacinto drawing to much water could not go up I may as well state here the force of the entire squadron The San Jacinto the Flag Ship of the squadron bearing the Broad pendant of Com Armstrong mounting 13 guns 2 long 32, 10 68ts with a pivot on the forcastle The Potsmouth (sloop) 16 = 8 in shell guns & the Levant 4 shell guns & 14 = 32 Everything being ready the two ships were took in tow by two steamers the Williamette towing the Portsmouth & the Cumfa the Levant & While we we[re] going up every thing was being put in order for battle [...] about three o clock the Porsmouth cast of the tug five hundred yards from the nearest fort on the right called by the chinese Yung Un and fourteen hundred yards from the nearest on the left Howqua and dropped anchor The Levant aboard of which I was drafted about the time the Portsmouth dropped anchor was near a half a mile astern and got aground and as we all thought disignedly by the Captain of the Cumfa he being in a great hurry to get himself and his boat out of danger for as soon as the Portsmouth dropped anchor the whole four forts commenced a heavy raking fire upon her before the Portsmouth sent a shot thus proving themselves again the agressors [...] they [the *Portsmouth's* crew] immediately got out springs and got her broadside to bear upon them and returned there fire in fine style while we aboard of the Levant had the mortification to be unable to render them the least assistance being aground and out of rainge & the fireing ceaced at sun down the Portsmouth having silenced two of them & for the time at least the Portsmouth received very little injury which proved the Chinese bad artillery'ists there was

<sup>14</sup> Commander Andrew H. Foote, later commander of the gunboat squadron on the Mississippi River during the Civil War.



one marine dangerously wound having his leg and arm badly fractured & at high water the *Levant* floated and was got in position some one hundred yards ahead of the *Portsmouth* & and thus ended the first days fight, after sun down the Commodore came on board of the *Levant* and had a consultation with Capt Bell<sup>15</sup> who had command of the *Levant* in the absence of Capt Smith<sup>16</sup> who commanded the force stationed at Canton & the broad pendant of the Commodore flying on board of the *Portsmouth*

*Nov 18* To day the Commodore went down to Wampoa and there met Dr Parker<sup>17</sup> the American Commisioner leaving the command to Capt Foote of *Portsmouth* he being the next senior officer of the squadron with orders not to fire unless the Chinese commenced the attack The Chinese contrary to our expectation did not commence to fire the next day after the fight appariently satisfied with Stopping our further progress up the river and so we cintinued during the 18/19th & but in the mean time they were not ide [idle] for we could see them from the ships erecting a battery out side of the nearest fort behind a thicket which they continued to work at day and night In the mean time the Commodore had sent a dispatch to Yea<sup>18</sup> the governor of Canton demanding an apology Yea answer was that he had no apology to make.

*Nov 20* Peaceful measures haging [having] failed nothing remained for us but, to revenge the insult offered to our flag and our countraman & the men were at there quaters all the morning and nothing could exceed there eagerness to commence the strife for the delay of the past two days had but increased the disire of all hands to teach these conceated Chinamen that they could not insult the American Flag with impunity The signal from the *Portsmouth* being given and the *Levant* being in a good position and much farther up the stream than the *Portsmouth* nobly made up for the share she lost in the first days fight & the bombardment continued upwards of an hour & such an hour of excitement I never saw before and I may say felt for it was the first engagement I had ever been in, for in the first days attack I with the others on the *Levant* were interesting [*sic*] spectaters out of danger from the enemy's shot [...] the men at the guns fought like heroes and did not lack in spirit one iota from the gallant fellows who fought under the gallant Hull & Decatur & Charley Stewart [...] many a one I saw stripped to the skin nothing on but trowsers and shoes working like mad and as we saw our shot and shell taking such good effect knocking down the walls and blowing up the guns planted out side of the nearest fort pizzle end up for the wind was favorable for blowing away the smoke we would send up such a wild loud genuine Yankee yell that if it could have reached the ears of John Chinaman it would have struck them with dismay there is something soul inspiring in a hearty cheer that wakes a man up to renewed exertions [...] I could not help thinking if some of the political demagogues at home that call themselves Know Nothings could have seen some of the brave fellows adopted citizens of the country under whose flag they were then fighting for it would teach them to be less bigoted of men who are willing to share the dangers as well as to enjoy the privileges of there adopted country After an hours bombardment the landing party embarked in the boats and

<sup>15</sup> Commander Henry H. Bell of the *San Jacinto*.

<sup>16</sup> Commander William Smith of the *Levant*.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Peter Parker, United States commissioner to China, 1855-57.

<sup>18</sup> Yeh Ming-ch'ên. See above, note 2.

under cover of the guns of the ships landed at a Joss house near a small villiage. In the landing two boys belonging to the Portsmouth were killed by the accidental discharge of a comrad's rifle & Upon landing we fell in to marching order making the best of our way to the fort distant about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile from the landing wading through ditches and creeks in places the water up to our arm pits we holding our cartridge boxes and arms on our heads out of danger and draging the Howetzers through after us but we keep pushing on some of the boys whistleing Jordon is a hard road to travel [...] we pushed on through the vilage and came on in rear of the fort and saw the Chinese in full retreat & back of the fort was a deep creek which they had to swim we having taken posession of the bridge which was lower down a great many were shot and drowned in there endeavor to escape [...] we immediately took posession of the fort and raised the stars and stripes on the watch tower with three hearty cheers which was returned from the ships & We commenced the work of distruction of every thing in the fort spiking the guns burning the carriges blowed up the magazines and demolishing the few buildings that remained standing we could now see the fearful work of our shell creating distruction and ruin where ever they burst By 12 o clock we found our exertions had given us all an appetite [...] a foraginge [party] was sent out and soon returned with a plentiful supply of ducks and chickens [...] each man went to work to cook his own dinner the best way he could there being no pots and kittles of cours things could not be done in the French style [...] the most common way was to pluck the feathers and stick the fowl on the end of a ram rod and roast him or throw them in the fire and cover them with hot ashes and bake them and of this rough cookery both officers and men partook of with great relish after all hunger is the best sauce By this time the look outs on the ramparts reported a large body of the enemy coming towards the fort The marines under Capt Sims<sup>19</sup> & Lieu'ts Kirkland Tyler and the blue jackets under Lieut Carter with a Howetzer and there muskets were sent against them [...] after some slight schirmishing the chinese retreated and we returned again to the fort & we remained that night in the fort having sentrys posted outside to prevent a surprise [...] at 3 oclock in the morning & [we?] commenced preperations for returning to the ships which being perceived by the enemy they commenced a fire upon the boats but there guns being elevated to high there shot passed over us & as the sun rose we were all embarked in the boats and pulling for the ships

*Nov 21* Having got aboard and after we had breakfasted & all hands again maned the batteries we opened a brisked [*sic*] fire upon the Fidlers Beach Fort the Round or Island fort and the Square Fort which lasted about an hour & when the boats were again maned by the marines and the storming party & The boats were taken in tow by the Steamer Cum Fa our disign being to take the Fidlers Beach fort While on our way a round shot struck the San Jacinto's Launch instantly killing James Hogland carpenters mate and mortally wounded William Macken and Alfred Furner belonging to the San Jacinto besides slightly wounding a number of others & as soon as this ocured the boats cast of from the steamer [*Nov 22*]<sup>20</sup> and put into a creek abreast of which we were The

<sup>19</sup> Brevet Captain John D. Simms, United States Marine Corps.

<sup>20</sup> With some exceptions, each page of the diary has a date written in the margin next to the first line of writing. The "Nov 22" occurs on the page which begins, "and put into a creek. . . ." It seems probable that the story of the events of the 22d was written a few days later and the appropriate dates then inserted in the margin.

whole party in one mass leaped ashore Officers and men and at a dead run made for the fort distant about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile Our passage to the fort was on an embankment raised in the paddy fields and scarcely wide enough for two to run abreast & while on our way to the fort a marine a few yards ahead of me was struck by an arrowheaded Rocket which makes a dangerous wound These rockets are a feathered arrow six feet long with a long steel or copper head has a rocket attached it cleaves the air with great rapidity with an irregular motion and the hot steel head inflicts a painful and dangerous wound the rocket continuing to hiss and spit out fire after it has wounded its victim<sup>21</sup> A large body of chinese were posted on a hill on which was built a pagoda [...] they having a fine position they keep up a continual fire upon us with there arrow-headed Rockets and Gingalls<sup>22</sup> which our fellows returned with there muskets and Minie Rifles firing and loading as they ran along the embankments The ships in the mean time keep up a sharp fire up on the forts with shell and shot [...] some good shot from the Levant done great execution entering the ports and knocking both guns and carrage to'ther side of Jordon [...] it was [through] these ports that our forces entered and took possession of Fidlers Beach Fort the chinese having retreated at our approach & the American flag was raised on the walls with three cheers and we commenced the work of ditroying what was left for us to distroy for our shell had done fearful work here [...] where ever a shell had burst it had left ruins for feet around [...] a few guns being in good position to bear upon the two remaining forts were maned by the men under charge of there officers and trained up on them the powder and ball not costing Uncle Sam a dime the enemy having left a good suply in one of there undamaged magazines [...] in the meantime we saw that large bodies of the Chinese were collecting around the fort with the intention of retaking the fort but we met them half way [...] the marines under Capt Sims and the blue jackets under there officers with there Howetzers soon gave them such a warm reception that they were glad to beat a quick retreat [at] which movement they have proved themselves quite adepts [...] while they were making this movement Capt Simms marched his men abreast of the Round fort on Powder Island when they came sudenly on a masked Battery of 9 guns and maned by the Chinamen [...] the marines made a charge upon them when the chinamen mde [made] a quick retreat and such was their haste that they did not stop to fire of ther guns [...] they [the marines] found a plentiful supply of powder and ball and fire's kindled ready to touch of their pieces [...] they immediately turned the guns upon them as they were retreating accros the paddy fields & after driving them from the field the guns were brought to bear upon the round fort which was directly abreast and so well directed were they that the chinamen found it to hot to hold them they accordingly fired there magazine and deserted the fort & going accros the river to the Square Fort or as the Chinese term it the Eastern Invincible And now came the tug of war [...] we had compleatly distroyed one Fort and had compeled the Enemy to demolish another themselves by blowing up there magazine but a wide river was between us & the Round Fort [and] we could not take posesion of it without our boats

<sup>21</sup> William M. Wood, a navy physician on the *San Jacinto*, describes the Chinese rocket used against the Americans as a heavy metal rocket, "with a sharp dart or spear-pointed head, and a feathered bamboo shaft six or eight feet long." He tells of one marine who died of a rocket wound: the weapon had passed through his leg, carrying straw and dirt and shattering the bone. Wood, p. 454.

<sup>22</sup> A gingal or jingal was a long, heavy musket, fired from a rest, often with a swivel.

which were moored in a creek about a mile down the river [...] it was a perilous undertaking bringing the boats up as they were exposed to the whole fire of the Square Fort [...] the boats were brought up to opposite the Round Fort exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy but fortunately no one was injured [...] part of our force now embarked in the boats the remainder remaining in the Fidlers Beach fort and crossed the river to the round Fort which was found deserted & by 11 o'clock at night all our force was collected in the Round Fort & It being resolved on to attack the Square Fort early the next morning by means of that dangerous of all modes a boat attack & by 3 o'clock in the morning all hands having taken their places in the boats a party of 10 marines and a Howitzer company being left in charge of the Round fort & and the boats being drawn up in line we were addressed by Capt Foot of the Portsmouth in a handsome appropriate and patriotic manner on the deeds that had already been done and exhorting them still to uphold their character for Bravery & gallantry with the caution that this speech should be heard without cheers as the cheering would give warning to the enemy of our intended attack As soon as the speech was concluded the order was given to shove off & proceed to attack the fort each launch having a Howitzer in the bows which worked on a slide each Howitzer company having orders to load and fire as fast as possible and to aim for the port hole's & But no sooner had we shoved off and reached the middle of the river (in order to do this the boats had to make a large circuit in order to avoid a point of land that projected from the island [...]) when the advance of our boats were perceived by the Chinamen in the Square Fort when they immediately opened upon them a deadly fire of round shot & Grape and Canister but their guns being trained for high water mark no doubt There shot flew over our heads perfectly harmless. But as soon as the enemy commenced firing a wild cheer arose from every officer and man in the boats they gave way with redoubled strength and pulled their boats on to the beach directly under the muzzles of the enemy's guns & with a still wilder cheer they jumped from their boats some of them to their arm pits in water holding their Muskets & their ammunition above their heads & so made a breach up on the fort & drove the enemy completely from it The Howitzer that we had left in the Round fort all this time was not idle every shot from this Howitzer appearing to enter a port cutting down the men from their guns where they stood with port fire's lighted ready to discharge guns at our boats But our men & officers in one promiscuous mass rushed into the fort through the embrasures jumping over guns that were loaded nearly to the muzzle & to which slow matches had been applied that they might discharge themselves which discovery was made in time to prevent their discharge And as the sun arose in the east<sup>23</sup> there was displayed on the ramparts waving in the breeze the stars and stripes of the United States waving over the last remaining fort and one of the strongest fortifications in China [...] we served this as we had the others destroyed every thing spiking the guns burning the carriages and breaking the trunnions making it impossible ever to mount them on carriages again [...] the guns planted outside of the fort on the embankments we threw in the ditch and river About 12'clock our work of destruction being completed we prepared to return to the ships [...] we embarked in our boats and crossed the river to the round fort to take the men and officers we had left there in the morning to protect it [...] they having embarked we proceeded down the river in fine style in regular order to the ships just as we

<sup>23</sup> The sunrise was apparently that of November 23. From this point on, this section of the diary clearly ceases to be a day-to-day account; it summarizes work which continued to December 6. The next date entry is December 7.

passed under the stern of the ships they manned the rigging and welcome'd us with three hearty cheers. which was returned by those in the boats in a still heartier manner they having the strong'est number of men. After going on board the ships we laid our ars [arms? oars?] and accoutrements aside and partook of some food & rest which was very much required by all hands until Sunday when our forces were called again to go into there boats & proceed to the Square Fort for the purpose of the complete distruction of it & the Commodore having resolved to distroy them totaly by blowing them up from the foundation's so as to prevent the chinese from occupying and taking posession of them when we should leave I will give a slight discription of these forts After the opium war these forts were rebuilt and a barrier of piles and sunken junks streched across the river seven eights of the distance [.] on the right of the barrier was an oblong fort with three faces toward the river and pierced for 31 guns Opposite was another (Howqua) a thousand yards distant covering the river with 20 embrasures Powder Island divides the river into two channels both of which are protected by a round Fort called by the English Napier it is 830 Yards from Howqua and 1330 from the first called Yung Un and 500 from the Square Fort on the main directly opposite and called by the chinese the Eastern Invincible with 23 ports toward the river [.] the round fort was pierced for about 30 guns Some of these guns were of immense size one especially which struck us all with supprise from its great size and from the great labor it must have cost to have transported it to its position it was on the island fort I give its correct discription as measured by one of our officers<sup>24</sup>

Extreme length	22 feet	5 inches
Greatest Cirfumference [ <i>sic</i> ]	8 do	8 do
Least do	5 do	$\frac{3}{4}$ do
Cirfumference of Trunion	3 do	$\frac{1}{2}$ do
Diameter of Bore		8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Probable weight	15 tons	

This was a brass gun

They were substantially built of granite the whole height was 16 feet and the thickness 8 to 10<sup>25</sup> the ports being crowned with a looped parapet [.] the ports were nearly 6 feet square and were sheilded from assault by double iron shod doors folding outward the interior was well furnished with brick barracks store houses magazines Such are the forts that we are now busly engaged in undermining for there complete distruction all hands are to work sinking holes down in front between two ports then striking in under the walls [.] the walls were built on spiles owing to the swampy nature of the soil and this makes the work more laborious for the spiles must be taken out after the wall had been undermined [.] they place two 50 pound kegs of powder in each hole then fill them up with stone and sand packing it as solid as possible then rool a heavy gun on top of all there having been previously a fuse insurted into the powder and when all is ready the fuses are lighted the men of course leaving the fort for safety away go the walls flying in every direction leaving the Emperior of China's Eastern Invincible fort as they call it a pile of ruins [.] while some are to work on the mines another gang are to work tearing down the walls with crow bars & picks very laborious word [work] and much slower than the mine

<sup>24</sup> Substantially the same measurements are given in Wood, p. 454.

<sup>25</sup> Other accounts give the thickness of the walls variously as seven feet and eight feet. McClellan, *op. cit.*, p. 264.



After 3 or four days hard work we compleated the distruction of the Square Fort & nearly every night while the work was in progress we would be aroused from our sleep by an alarm from the sentries on post and the long rool of the drum We'd turn out take our arms which were always stacked and loaded & march out and after firing a few shots we would return to lay down & strive to sleep the enemy in the mean time having retreated to a respectful distance But one night they came very close to the fort with out being perceived by the sentries it being a very dark night and commenced throwing their stink pots and arrow headed rockets a sharp fire being opened upon them they quickly fled leaving behind them their scaling ladders and bundles of rockets & stink pots Our work being compleated we left for the Round fort on Powder Island about the 26 or 27 of November we commenced undermining this fort & blowing it up which was done in two days & all the mines in this fort were prepared and set of at once they went of in fine style and very regular & The second morning after leaving the Square Fort we were much amused by the Chinamen making a bold attack upon the ruins of the fort which we had just left They made a bold attack with Gin Galls a weapon much like a Musket but very unhandy Arrow headed Rockets & stink pots and after bombarding a diserted & ruined Fort for a while they made a rush and entered it with great cheering and finding no one to oppose them they commenced throwing there stink pots and firing their rockets at the Round Fort [...] their manuverers being seen on board the *Levant* they fire'd a shell right in the centre of the fort and it was amusing to see with what haste they retreated when they saw the shell burst in there mid'st These shell of ours they do not appear to understand they call them the twice eyed shot & exclaiming *Hi Yah* how can gun shoot twice From the round fort we next went to the Fidler Beach fort which we served in the same manner as the others we made short work of this in 3 or four days we had compleatly distroyed it from the foundation up our men by this time having became accustomed to the work From here we went to the Howqua Fort the one first taken The distruction of this was attended with a terrible accident while three men were engaged at work on one of the mines named William Bean Edward Hughes belonging to the *Portsmouth* Joseph Gibbons Boatswain Mate of the *San Jacinto* an explosion took place in concequence of one of them having very incautiously using a crow bar to wedge some small stones in between the large ones to make them more firm a blow from the crowbar struck fire & dropped in to the powder when the explosion instantly took place killing the above three and wounding a number of others some dangerously and others slightly [...] one man belonging to the *Levant* had to have his leg amputated [...] our work of distruction being compleated we returned on board our ship and thus was the insult to our flag revenged [...] the chinese own to a loss of 500 men [...] there were in these forts mounted and well supplied with ammuniton and well manned 168 guns some 68 pounders some 32 & 42 pounders<sup>26</sup> [...] these were taken by two sloops of war and not more than 500 men the four forts having fallen into our hands in the short space<sup>27</sup> hours from the time that we first struck the shore [...] this appears almost impossible but so it is it forms another bright page in the history of our country & reflects the greatest credit on all who were concerned in the distruction of the Barrier forts in China [...] it proves to the world also that our Navy though small is still able to punish any insult that may be offered to our Flag come from whom it may

<sup>26</sup> Foote reported that the forts mounted 176 guns, "many of them of the largest calibre from 8 to 10½ inch." *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> The word "space" is followed in the diary by a blank space.

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General History

GESCHICHTE ALS BILDUNGSMACHT: EIN BEITRAG ZUR HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN NEUBESINNUNG. By *Gerhard Ritter*. [Der Deutschenspiegel, Band 6.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1947. Pp. 77.)

THE saying that history has to be rewritten by each generation is true but only in a very limited sense. Fundamental changes in historical interpretations, concepts, and methods are caused by more profound reasons: Thucydides and Guicciardini, Clarendon, Ranke, and Tocqueville wrote their histories after their worlds had been shaken to the foundations. Fundamental historical reorientation originates from the efforts of the historian to find out what has remained after revolutionary upheavals have overturned the very bases of society and to revise the picture of the past in the light of experiences which appear to contradict the existence of a historical continuity.

It is evident that the present situation demands a re-examination of traditional historical concepts from the historians of Germany where the whole past has been buried under the ruins of Nazism and defeat. Few books or articles of pure historical research have appeared since 1945, but, in several essays and pamphlets, historians have occupied themselves with the problem of the necessary revision of history. Among the "revisionist" literature, the book under review is one of the most significant. The subjects which Professor Ritter has studied in previous works—Prussian conservatism, Luther, Frederick the Great, Stein—have proved him to be a typical representative of traditional German historical scholarship; in the past, he was always a conservative and probably would still regard himself as such. Hence there can be no more striking indication of the impact of recent events than the far-reaching revisions which such a man considers necessary for the German historical outlook. He demands a changed attitude with respect to a number of crucial issues pertaining to German history as well as a re-examination of the fundamental concepts of German historiography. Among the topics of German history, to which, in his opinion, a new approach is necessary, is the importance of Prussianism and militarism. He admits that the impact of Pan-Germanism (*Alldeutsche*) and of pressure groups such as the Colonial League usually has been underestimated by German scholars, and he insists upon the necessity of a clearer understanding of the fatal consequences of Bismarck's domestic policy, although his evaluation of Bismarck remains equivocal, as he himself admits. But Ritter's demands for a revision of the fundamental concepts of German historiography are perhaps more striking: he wants to reject the Hegel-Ranke tradition of a positive evaluation of war as a "competition of moral energies." In his



opinion, the Ranke doctrine of the "Great Powers" resulted in an exaggerated worship of power and in a tendency to concentrate too exclusively upon foreign policy and to identify politics with Machiavellism and "*Realpolitik*."

Despite such demands for a new approach, Ritter remains entirely within the framework of "political history." One might wish that he had taken a further step and drawn a conclusion which is implied in his own statements, namely, that more attention should be given to social and economic history and that history should become more analytical and critical. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that there is a rather nationalistic bias in Ritter's tendency to excuse dangerous and deplorable German developments and even to consider them justified if somewhat similar developments have occurred in other countries. Despite such qualifications, however, it must be emphasized that, if future German historiography proceeds along the lines which Ritter has drawn, it will regain a concrete basis for discussion with the outside world.

*Bryn Mawr College*

FELIX GILBERT

MODERN NATIONALISM AND RELIGION. By *Salo Wittmayer Baron*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1947. Pp. x, 363. \$5.00.)

THIS book aims at an "analysis of the fundamental interrelations between the western religions and modern nationalism." The author correctly states that "no comprehensive study of their interrelations has yet appeared in any language." He has expanded four lectures delivered on the Rauschenbusch Lectureship Foundation of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School into the present volume in the hope of clarifying a basic public issue and of stimulating other scholars "to fill this significant lacuna in our knowledge." Some seventy-eight pages of footnotes with dozens of essential bibliographical references testify to his command of the pertinent literature.

The author makes many significant observations on his general subject, and, particularly in his chapters on "Catholic Interterritorialism" and "Jewish Ethnicism," he offers material which cannot be found in compact form elsewhere. But his method and approach are open to the basic objection of lack of precision in the formulation of his problem and in the use of guiding concepts for the analysis of his material. For example, after admitting that "all these facets [of nationalism] are so deeply interlocked that their differentiation is frequently more germane to scholarly analysis than to the world of action" (p. 6), a distinction which the reviewer deplores, he goes once more over the old ground of distinguishing between the "diversities of nationalist experience" as a way of finding "some line of demarcation between 'good' and 'bad' nationalism" (p. 6). Working on the basis of his belief in the "factually tenuous distinction between 'national feeling' as a legitimate form of nationalism and 'nationalism' as its illegitimate offshoot" (p. 3), he confronts the reader with "ancient nationalism," "medieval nationalism," "modern

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nationalism," "economic," "religious," "political," "cultural" nationalism, "geographic-cultural nationalism," "historical-conservative nationalism," "romantic-revolutionary nationalism," "linguistic-cultural nationalism," "voluntaristic," "integral," "constitutional," "democratic" nationalism, "extreme nationalism," "new, unique American form of national feeling," "fully conscious Belgian nationalism"; and, by way of being comprehensive, he adds "overt or latent nationalism" (p. 10) and "unconscious" nationalism (p. 7). He places Burke and Jefferson in the same general category of nationalists with Fichte, Mazzini, and Rousseau, even with Maurras, Mussolini, and Alfred Rosenberg (see pp. 59, 85). He says that "American nationalism . . . bordered on internationalism" (p. 129), and quotes with approval a statement that English nationalism "runs easily and naturally into internationalism" (p. 128). He finds American and English "nationalism" antithetic to "integral nationalism," Nazism, or fascism, and based on individual liberties (p. 87).

When the concept nationalism is used to include things ancient, medieval, and modern, national and international, free and unfree, conscious and unconscious, overt and latent, integral and individualistic, militaristic and pacifistic, it becomes worthless for scientific analysis. The author himself at one point seems to be vaguely aware of this debasement. At the end of a long, highly detailed chapter on Jewish ethnicism, which he indiscriminately calls Jewish nationalism, he finally says, "One may legitimately doubt whether these terms [religion and nationalism] genuinely correspond to Jewish reality" (p. 248).

It is true that the quality and value of many books is not seriously affected by the lack of conceptual precision; but in this case precision is essential. It would have enabled the author to determine what should appropriately be included and what should be excluded. It would have led him to concentrate upon a thorough analysis of his subject, the interrelations between nationalism and Western religion, instead of mixing and confusing with it three other, even though closely related, topics, each of which demands separate treatment—the relations between church and state, between religion and politics, between religion and the rise of the feeling of nationality. As it is, the author packs material into this book which has little or no relevance and leaves the reader in a state of confusion as to his purpose. The chapters lack unity and flow of argument. They make reading tedious; they remind one frequently of a critical bibliography or glossary, where erudition demands the inclusion of a few sentences about every book or pamphlet or program. The author has put in too much about too many things, too little about relevant things.

*University of Nebraska*

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE LAW OF NATIONS. By *Arthur Nussbaum*, Research Professor of Public Law, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xi, 361. \$4.50.)

PHENOMENA of the law of nations, in the broad sense which includes norms of a religious character applied to the relationships of human groups bearing a resemblance to states, are found by the author to be conspicuous as early as 3100 B.C., when a treaty was concluded between two Mesopotamian communities (p. 8). A "miniature and rapidly vanishing picture of something like international law" is glimpsed in ancient Greece, which conceived the idea of natural law (pp. 2, 11-16). The juridical concepts of *bellum justum* and *jus gentium*—at first concerned exclusively with relationships among individuals but later extended to embrace the law observed by all nations—were contributed by ancient Rome (pp. 16-22). The relationships among the potentates of Christendom during the Middle Ages were governed by supranational rather than international law (p. 22). It was only after the rise of Protestantism that national states became the dominant historical forces and the modern law of nations, with national sovereignty as its cornerstone, began to develop (pp. 52, 57).

The fundamental doctrines of the modern law of nations were worked out, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, by a long line of publicists (Vitoria, Suarez, Belli, Ayala, Gentili, Grotius, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Zouche, Rachel, Bynkenshoek, Wolff, Vattel, Moser, and Von Martens) whose contributions are carefully assayed by the author, with piquant details of personality (pp. 58-177). The conception of the law of nature, which dominated the thought of most of these publicists, was replaced in the nineteenth century by positivism (p. 222).

A political factor of major significance in the practical development of international law during the first part of the nineteenth century was the expansion of the boundaries of the international community to include the Near East, the Far East, and the new states of America (pp. 179-90). The latter part of the nineteenth century was a part of "a continuous period" of "geometric progression" of international law down to the present (p. 238). The "utter frailty of the law of war" was, however, revealed in World War I (p. 245), and some of the multilateral agreements which have been widely acclaimed as marking advances in international law are actually characterized by "inanity and ostentation" (p. 273). The positivism of the nineteenth century is now believed to have been "too crude, too uncompromising"; there is a salutary "re-emphasis of the cogitative aspects of international law" (p. 275). A "modern philosophical reconstruction of the law of nations" seems to be under way (p. 287).

The author has succeeded admirably in his undertaking "to bring into relief the bold lines and the representative figures of the history of the law of nations" (p. 5). He has also supplied an extremely valuable bibliography. He ventures the prediction "that international law will further grow and will intensify the co-

operation among the nations" (p. 3). The basis of this prediction is not entirely clear.

*Washington, D. C.*

EDGAR TURLINGTON

A HISTORY OF THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION. By *John S. Brubacher*, Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education, Yale University. (New York: McGraw-Hill Company. 1947. Pp. xiii, 688. \$4.00.)

ONE of the striking features of the programs for teacher education in our teachers colleges is that the history of education is of so little account. This fact is both striking and ominous. It warrants the suspicion that our teacher education is more concerned with the training of craftsmen and technicians than with the preparation of teachers who have an intelligent perspective on the work in which they are to engage.

For this singular state of affairs the writers of educational history are largely to blame. Too often they have managed to create the impression that their interest in the past is of the "antiquarian" type. The significance of the past for the present is not made evident. The result of this has been—until recent times, at any rate—that the history of education has tended to become a negligible factor in the preparation of teachers.

Dr. Brubacher's book is an attempt to remedy this situation. In order to do so, it makes "the basis of its organization not the great epochs of the past but the problems or problem areas of contemporary education." Thus, instead of having chapters on Greek, Roman, medieval education, and the like, this volume has chapters on aim, method, and curriculum; on elementary, secondary, and higher education; on political, psychological, and philosophical bases of education. The merit of this organization is that each chapter begins and ends with contemporary interests. Historical materials are selected and introduced because they are relevant to an understanding of current education."

There are doubtless many ways in which history can be written. That this type of organization is a significant improvement over what we have usually had in this general area seems scarcely open to doubt. It gives meaning to historical continuity in the sense that it enables the reader to see the problems and conflicts in education as phases or aspects of the struggle to revise or reconstruct our basic outlook on life in the light of modern science and technology.

When viewed in this perspective, the history of education takes on a tremendous significance. There is no area of human concern in which the basic meaning of an epoch or culture is more fully revealed than in education. It is in this area, par excellence, that the struggle between the old and the new, between tradition and scientific method, between the claims of "naturalism" or "secularism" and "supernaturalism" is beginning to take definite shape. It can scarcely be said that the fundamental issues involved are clearly defined as yet. But it is becoming

increasingly evident that we can not hope to achieve a sense of direction without extensive reliance on history. It is for this reason in particular that this scholarly and readable volume is to be welcomed as an important and timely contribution.

*University of Illinois*

BOYD H. BODE

THE BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC, SEPTEMBER 1939–MAY 1943. By Samuel Eliot Morison. With an Introduction on "The United States Navy between World Wars" by Commodore Dudley Wright Knox USN. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume I.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1947. Pp. lx, 432. \$6.00.)

BELIEVING that the nation had suffered sorely from the failure to provide adequate histories of World War I, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt ordered every war agency to prepare its administrative history; needled the War Department into expanding and co-ordinating its historical program; and chose Professor Samuel E. Morison of Harvard to write the history of our naval operations. This admirable account of the battle of the Atlantic to May, 1943, shows how good was the choice of this gifted scholar, writer, and mariner.

The narrative of operations ranging so widely in space and time offers peculiar difficulties. Captain Morison's account gains greatly from his actual experiences at sea, his full access to official sources, and his freedom to say what he thinks.

After throwing fresh light on the "short of war" phase of our naval operations, he plunges into the unhappy period in 1942 when the U-boats "far too easily" penetrated our outer defenses and "took their pleasure among the American merchant fleet" (p. 73). In recounting "this merry massacre" (p. 128), he pulls no punches. He excoriates "the neglect of local communities to dim their waterfront lights, or of military authorities to require them to do so, until three months after the submarine offensive started" (p. 129). He deplores our delays in instituting coastal convoys and adequate air coverage. The failure of the Army and Navy to reach a solution of the problem of organizing their air co-operation in antisubmarine war during eighteen of the most critical months of the war "was due more to conflicting personalities and service ambitions than to any inherent difficulty; and also to the fact that nobody under the President had the authority to impose an agreement" (p. 246).

This writer cannot avoid the conclusion that the United States Navy was woefully unprepared, materially and mentally, for the U-boat blitz on the Atlantic Coast that began in January 1942. He further believes that, apart from the want of air power which was due to prewar agreements with the Army, this unpreparedness was largely the Navy's own fault. Blame cannot justly be imputed to Congress, for Congress had never been asked to provide a fleet of subchasers and small escort vessels; nor to the people at large, because they looked to the Navy for leadership. Nor can it be shifted to President Roosevelt, who on sundry occasions prompted the Bureau of Ships and the General Board of the Navy to adopt a

small-craft program; but, as he once observed, "The Navy couldn't see any vessel under a thousand tons." In the end the Navy met the challenge, applied its energy and intelligence, came through magnificently and won; but this does not alter the fact that it had no plans ready for a reasonable protection to shipping when the submarines struck, and was unable to improvise them for several months [p. 200].

From German sources he demonstrates that "Submarine warfare was unwanted and unexpected by Hitler; unprepared for by the German Navy; when adopted perforce it was improvised until well on into 1943 when all German naval effort and a large share of production were concentrated on making it a success" (p. 4). One German admiral has revealed that they "were successful in 'busting' the code used by us and the British until about the middle of 1942 when we changed it so fast that the German cryptographers could not keep up" (p. 128). When wartime assessments of "kills" were checked by German records it appeared that the U-boat described in the laconic report "Sighted Sub Sank Same" evaded the attack, but the enlisted pilot who sent the signal did sink U-503 a few weeks later (p. 154).

The summer of 1940 was the U-boats' "greatest harvest season of the war" in terms of average tonnage sunk per submarine (p. 23). But during the first six months of 1942 "losses of the American Merchant Marine from enemy action already surpassed those suffered during the entire course of World War I" (p. 200). In June, 1942, General Marshall expressed the fear that "another month or two of this will so cripple our means of transport that we will be unable to bring sufficient men and planes to bear against the enemy in critical theatres to exercise a determining influence on the war" (to Admiral King, p. 309).

Full credit is awarded the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy for the great part they played in turning the tide, and there is ample praise for French, Polish, and Brazilian antisubmarine craft. In a record so studded with heroic action the author does not hesitate to report instances of shocking indiscipline in the American Merchant Marine (pp. 333, 336, 343, 346, 373, 374, 380, 388). It is his "emphatic opinion that if and when another war occurs, the merchant marine should either be absorbed by the Navy or made an auxiliary service under military discipline, like the . . . famous Seabees. Certain high-ranking officers of the Navy recommended this about 1 February 1942, but it was not done. The cost to the war effort of antagonizing a powerful group of unions had to be weighed against the immediate advantage of safe and efficient seafaring" (p. 300).

A somewhat fuller treatment of new devices and weapons may be hoped for in the volume dealing with the later phases of the war in the Atlantic. The SG radar came into use earlier than is indicated on page 226, and the implication on the same page as to the origin of airborne microwave radar is misleading. For "Harvard-M.I.T. radar laboratory" (*loc. cit.*), read "the Radiation Laboratory at M.I.T." Brigadier General George V. Strong and Rear Admiral Harold G. Bowen

were the original Army and Navy members of the National Defense Research Committee (p. 29). Artemas L. Gates was not the first Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air (p. 29n.), as Edward P. Warner had been appointed to that post as early as 1926. These are trifling slips in a work of the first magnitude.

*Williams College*

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D

THE REVOLUTION IN WARFARE. By *B. H. Liddell Hart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947. Pp. 125. \$2.00.)

STRATEGY IN WORLD WAR II: A STRATEGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE LAND OPERATIONS. By Lt. Col. *Alfred H. Burne*. [A Revision of the Lees-Knowles Lectures for 1946.] (Harrisburg: Military Service Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. 91. \$1.75.)

IN World War II the power of the offensive seemed to manifest itself and strategic air forces operated for the first time. A kind of a revolution in warfare took place, but to Captain Liddell Hart's way of thinking military and political leaders did not quite appreciate what was going on. Science and technology had provided them with new weapons of mass destruction, but military men and governments employed these weapons as recklessly as their ancestors did the sword and spear. They did not concern themselves with the difference in the effects of these weapons or pay much attention to the postwar consequences of the destruction they sanctioned. Thus, in the last two centuries there have been twin revolutions in warfare: a revolution in the instruments and techniques of war, and a revolution in the character of warfare. The author attempts to show how these revolutions came about and what, if anything, can be done to prevent a future "orgy of mutual devastation." This attempt is made within the general framework of the author's prewar writings.

In the years before the outbreak of World War II, Captain Liddell Hart was associated in the public mind with a belief in the supremacy of the defensive. What he really meant was the power of the offensive-defensive, not a static defensive. To the same public mind the impressive record of the *Wehrmacht's* offensives in 1939-40 was conclusive evidence of the weakness of the defensive. As Liddell Hart interprets the ground force operations of World War II, they confirm his concept of the supremacy of the offensive-defensive wherever the ratio of force to space was appropriate. He admits (pp. 21-22) that this seems especially paradoxical when applied to the Russian front. Yet, he shows that whenever the Germans concentrated their attack against a specific point, such as Moscow in 1941 or Stalingrad in 1942, the defensive proved to be supreme. He apparently does not consider the vagaries of Hitler's leadership to be significant in these cases.

In the realm of air warfare, Liddell Hart holds that the Allied powers were the chief offenders in the mass bombing of nonmilitary objectives. He expresses con-



fidence (p. 89) that Hitler's proposals in 1935-36 for limiting bombing to the narrow zone of military operations were genuine. Noting that the German bombing of Warsaw and Rotterdam did not take place until German ground troops were in the vicinity, he finds (p. 92) that these actions "conformed to the old rules of siege bombardment as well as to the 1935-36 definition." He shows that the German night attacks on London in September, 1940, were not undertaken until after six British raids on Berlin.

The author is quite right, I am sure, in asserting that the German reluctance to sanction bombing of civilian areas did not arise from any superior moral position. German documents captured in the last days of the war reveal that they did not have an air force large enough to carry out such a program successfully. The size of the *Luftwaffe* was one of the great legends of the war. Goering spoke wistfully on at least one occasion of his desire for a bomber with a range enough to reach New York. To the annoyance of German air officers and to the detriment of the German fighter plane program, Hitler insisted on wasting German assets on an abortive program for building long-range heavy bombers.

Captain Liddell Hart does not have much to offer by way of protection from the dangers of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction. Setting aside the obvious solution, some kind of a United States of the World, he thinks indirect approaches more promising. These include a world-wide system of qualitative disarmament and an improvement in the code of manners among the nations.

Colonel A. H. Burne, editor of *The Gunner* and author of a useful brief analysis of the art of land warfare, has published a revision of his Lees-Knowles lectures for the year 1946. In these lectures he concerned himself with the strategy of ground force operations in World War II. Centering his examination upon the problem of interior and exterior lines, he attempts to show that no decisive results were obtained in any theater unless the defending forces were completely encircled or driven against an immovable wall such as the sea.

*University of Missouri*

H. A. DEWEERD

FUNDAMENTALS OF NAVAL WARFARE. By *Lee J. Levert*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 488. \$5.00.)

THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER IN WORLD WAR II. By Captain *W. D. Puleston*, U.S.N. (Retired). (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 310. \$5.00.)

Mr. Levert's treatise, written for the general public, opens with a paragraph to which every historian will subscribe:

No work on any subject is complete unless some historical background is given. This is necessary for intelligent understanding of the present. History is a must for all students of military and related sciences. But history, like all tools, must be employed intelligently. If used blindly it is apt to mislead us.

Unfortunately, the historical part of Mr. Levert's book is so superficial and inaccurate as to be misleading. The one page devoted to the battle of Midway is full of errors. The Japanese "covering force was divided into two groups—the aircraft carriers *Kaga* and *Akagi* in one and *Hiryu* and *Soryu* in the other," is at the top of the page; but "the Japanese admiral showed poor judgment when he bunched his carriers" is at the bottom of the page. The latter is correct. Admiral Fletcher, not Admiral Spruance, was officer in tactical command of the American carrier force, and *Yorktown*, the one lost, was his flagship; the other two were not attacked. The Japanese were not "turned back by our land-based planes" and were not "already retreating" when struck by the American carrier planes. On the contrary, the enemy successfully beat off every attack by Midway-based planes in the early morning of June 4, suffering at most one hit and that not serious. He changed course from about southeast to about northeast at 9:15 in order to approach the American carrier force, whose presence his reconnaissance planes had just detected. It was carrier-based planes and nothing else that made the lethal hits on the four Japanese carriers. No general retreat was ordered until early next morning.

There is no excuse for these flagrant inaccuracies, because the Navy made available two accurate accounts of Midway, one in *Campaigns of the Pacific War* and the other, *The Japanese Story of the Battle of Midway*, by May, 1946.

On page 52 two different actions in which *South Dakota* participated are telescoped into one, and it is not correct that her first 40-mm guns were installed after these actions. On pages 408–409 Admiral Kinkaid is unjustly accused of risking a strategic defeat to insure a tactical victory by "sending all heavy units to Surigao Strait." Here and elsewhere the author shows lack of elementary knowledge of the battle for Leyte Gulf.

Some of the technical data in this book are correct and interesting, for the author is a naval architect; but the deductions he draws from inaccurate data of naval battles do not inspire confidence.

Captain Puleston's book belongs to a very different category. It is the work of a professional naval officer and writer on naval history, who has already produced a worthy life of Mahan and an excellent history of the Dardanelles expedition. In form it is essentially a short naval history of World War II, pointed up to prove that Mahan's concept of sea power was essentially sound and that it will yet be sound in spite of the increased role of air power, atomic bombs, and guided missiles; that nations who put their strength into land armies and land-based aircraft are doomed to defeat by the sea powers.

The book was written too soon after the war to be correct in every detail, although it is accurate in essentials. The battle of Midway, for instance, is correctly described and the proper implications are drawn, although the account contains several minor errors, such as placing coast artillery on Midway Island (there were only the coast-defense guns of the Marine Defense Battalion) as well as B-29's,

which were not then in existence. But Captain Puleston has made a full and careful use of Japanese sources, which prevented him from falling into the gross errors made by writers who depended on unilateral evidence. *Audi alteram partem* is an adage valid for naval as for any other history; especially so because in air warfare, submarine warfare, and night gunfire actions the attacking force can make only a wild guess as to the damage it has inflicted on the enemy until it can be checked from enemy sources. In a few instances (such as the battle of the Coral Sea, pp. 136-37) where Captain Puleston has taken our own estimates of damage inflicted because Japanese reports were not yet available, he has fallen into error. Had he known the truth, he would hardly have described that action as an unqualified American victory.

Captain Puleston shows the reluctance of most professional naval officers to criticize his fellows, knowing as he does the fallibility of human judgment and the enormous factor of chance and luck in naval warfare. Thus, he has no fault to find with the strategy of Admiral Halsey in the battle for Leyte Gulf. His conclusion as to the surprise of December 7, 1941, however, is crisp and sententious: "If the Navy Department had in any way condoned the conduct of the officials it considered responsible for Pearl Harbor, it would have fatally lowered the standard of conduct expected of its high commanders."

Harvard University

S. E. MORISON

THE POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF LIBERIA. By *Charles Henry Huberich*, Sometime Professor of Law, Stanford University, Member of the Bar of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. Foreword by Roscoe Pound. Two volumes. (New York: Central Book Company. 1947. Pp. xxii, 850; 851-1734. \$30.00.)

It is altogether appropriate that Dr. Huberich should have written this book and that it should have been published in the centennial year of the Liberian Republic. Because of the long and varied experience of the author with constitutional and international law, and because Liberia was one of his clients, he was eminently fitted for this undertaking which was to occupy the last several years of his life. It is deplorable, however, that death could not have spared him the little more time that would have been required to complete his manuscript and to supervise the publication of the book.

For anyone to attempt to publish an uncompleted manuscript such as that of Dr. Huberich and to do it justice is a task difficult enough in itself. Mere difficulty, however, cannot excuse the remissness to be found in this book, especially in view of the obvious meticulous care and exhaustive study that Dr. Huberich put into the collection, organization, and analysis of his materials. The book is seriously marred by clumsy editing on the part of those who were responsible for the manuscript after the author's death. While it is true that the author is initially

responsible for the hodgepodge array of the materials in the text, the confusing eccentricities of form in the footnotes, and the tangled disorder of the bibliography, it cannot be denied that discreet emendations could easily have been effected by a competent editor. Certainly, the careless proofreading evidenced throughout the book can in no way be attributed to Dr. Huberich. Unfortunately, however, it is not always immediately clear that the resulting errors are with the proofreader and not the author. This is regrettable since it was Dr. Huberich's expressed purpose to reproduce the many documents he quotes without change in the original spelling or punctuation.

Specific examples of these faults are too numerous to record here. In spite of them all, however, this history of Liberia emerges as a very valuable and objective account that rises far above both humanitarian sentimentalism and patronizing condescension. In form, and even in spirit, it resembles strongly a lawyer's brief; in tone, although frequently critical of its subject, it is always friendly in a detached sort of way.

Throughout both volumes, Dr. Huberich develops the implied thesis (pp. 83, 145-55), which is made explicit in the fifth chapter, that Liberia was never a colony and that the history of the country must be the history of the founding and advance to maturity of a new state. In the first volume, after an exacting examination of the constitutional arrangements of the period of the so-called Colony and of the Commonwealth, he shows that the inadequacies of those arrangements with the colonization societies forced the Liberians to set up a republic in 1847. Very early in the book the narrative is transferred to the many documents which he quotes at length, a device that may prove tedious to many readers.

Nearly half of the second volume traces the growth of the Liberian state from 1847 to 1943 as it gained constitutional stability and international respect by gradually overcoming many of the obstacles in its physical environment, the lack of political experience and education of its citizens, and the not always friendly attitudes and actions of the larger and older nations. Here he abandons the narrative completely as he painstakingly analyzes the Constitution of 1847 and its amendments, and their interpretations by the Liberian courts. In the second half of this volume is to be found an appendix (400 pages) containing the rarely published and practically inaccessible "Laws of the Colony of Liberia, 1820-1838" and "Acts of the Governor and Council of Liberia, 1839-1847." These and many other equally inaccessible documents are here published for the first time and are without doubt the most significant feature of the book. Dr. Huberich's book is a definitive work for the period it covers and as a book of reference it will have lasting value.

*Morehouse College*

MELVIN D. KENNEDY

LIBERIA. By Charles Morrow Wilson. (New York: William Sloane Associates. 1947. Pp. 226. \$3.75.)

TEN years ago Africa to most Americans was still the dark continent of Livingstone and Stanley, the missionary and the explorer. Today, from Tunis to Cape-town, strategic and economic factors are drawing the attention of military and businessmen. A sign of the times is the launching of Stettinius Associates, an American business organization which has entered Liberia since this book went to press.

Wilson, a free-lance writer with a journalist's training, has written a readable account of the 100-year-old republic which was founded as a haven for freed slaves, and largely neglected by the United States until World War II. War needs led Washington to take a new interest in Liberia. Construction of a seaport at Monrovia was begun with lend-lease funds totaling \$19,275,000. Completed in 1947, this port can be quickly converted into a submarine base. At a cost of another \$5,500,000, a great wartime airbase was built at Roberts Field which, along with the seaplane base at Fisherman's Lake, serviced as many as 17,000 planes a month on the vital West African lifeline to North Africa and the Middle East. Meanwhile, the United States took steps to foster Liberian economic development, public health, and education.

Wilson's main theme is the rubber business of the Firestone Company (which reportedly subsidized him). Introductory chapters summarize Liberian geography, history, and anthropology, while three final chapters discuss medical developments, and give scanty treatment to current Liberian politics and to Liberia's neighbors.

The book is marred by factual inaccuracy and journalistic exaggeration. The inaccuracies are most frequent when the author steps outside the boundaries of Liberia. Among his errors are his description of Nigeria as a British mandate, his reference to nonexistent "British plantations" in the Gold Coast, and his statement that executive and legislative councils in British West Africa are composed entirely of Africans. Wilson frequently resorts to journalistic exaggeration, particularly in his choice of descriptive adjectives. His reference to a "predatory and uncontrolled" economy in Nigeria is misleading, as is his graphic picture of tropical peoples abandoned by an indifferent world "to scream under the lashes or die from the bullets of alien exploiters."

Some writers have damned the Firestone Company and praised the Liberian government; others have damned the government and praised Firestone. Wilson praises both. In his view Liberia is a nation of peace, a republic without revolution, major civil war, rioting, paralyzing strikes, or illegal elections. Wilson's *Liberia* is a sharp contrast to R. L. Buell's *Liberia: A Century of Survival*, published posthumously a few months earlier. Buell's description of Liberian politics is too cynical, but the political stagnation and corruption he describes is almost entirely ignored by Wilson.

New York City

VERNON MCKAY

## Ancient and Medieval History

THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND: A STUDY OF LEGAL ADMINISTRATION AND PROCEDURE.  
By *Margaret Hastings*, New Jersey College for Women. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1947. Pp. xviii, 302. \$3.75.)

Miss Neilson and Professor Howard Gray, to both of whom the author expresses her grateful indebtedness, would have liked this book. It has many of the scholarly qualities which are characteristic of their own work. The author calls her book a "general study of the administration" of the Court of Common Pleas, and in it she first determines how the court was expected to function and then considers whether or not it worked well according to the standards of the fifteenth century. Her work is based upon a laborious examination of a considerable part of the great mass of unprinted legal records, particularly the writs and the plea rolls, to supplement the information available in the Year Books. Anyone who has worked with fifteenth century documents will realize how much "the job is one of digging," and the extent to which "tedious regularity" and "monotonous repetition" in the records put the researcher's patience to the test. While it is quite clear that Miss Hastings has examined a lot of unexplored records, she makes no pretense to having consulted more than large samples, and her conclusions are offered with a scholarly caution which excites more confidence than would more dogmatic assertions. Her interpretations have that quality of restrained imagination which comes from "trying to look upon the fifteenth century scene with perspective and yet to avoid judgments based on the standards of later ages." Nevertheless she presents some very interesting contrasts between fifteenth and twentieth century court proceedings.

While this is, in first instance, a work describing how a legal institution works, by an author who is primarily a legal historian familiar with earlier and later periods in the history of law and thus has a highly specialized character which will appeal particularly to other legal historians, it also has something important for other scholars. Miss Hastings is constantly looking for data on social history. She realizes that institutions are run by men who at the time are chiefly concerned with their own private affairs; so she makes some study of the persons holding the various court offices and exercising official patronage, indicating that "further research into the lives and family histories of the clerks should make possible many interesting generalizations." Where possible she notes significant signs of social change, the disappearance of clergymen as court officials, the fact "that many fifteenth century judges appear to have been founders of landed and titled families of later centuries," the use of trusteeship as "one of the ways of safeguarding one's family against forfeiture of estates by attainder," the legal dis-

cussions "involving slow gropings for a concept of office tenure different from the concept of tenure of land."

Perhaps the careful description of the many stages in "the intricate procedure in civil litigation" prevailing in the late medieval period is this book's chief distinction. But students interested in the Pastons and their society will find the chapter on "Delays and Hindrances to Justice" of special interest. And even readers of *Bleak House* will find in the story of these medieval forms "and the elaborate fictions which came to be based upon them" some explanation for the abuses attacked by later reformers.

*Williams College*

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

A HISTORY OF THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM IN WALES AND ON THE WELSH BORDER, INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE TEMPLARS. By *William Rees*, University College, Cardiff. (Cardiff: Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Priory for Wales. 1947. Pp. 131. 16s., post free.)

THE history of Wales during the post-Edwardian conquest period (1284-1536) has not yet been synthesized and correlated. Indeed, there are many gaps in its written story. For example, though the major religious orders were still represented in medieval Wales, the history of their contributions has, in large part, yet to be written. Professor Rees's study on the Hospitallers and Templars is another step toward a fuller understanding of the social and economic background of those turbulent centuries.

The English mother house of the Hospitallers was founded at Clerkenwell Priory, London, *ca.* 1144-1148. The Order was organized into priories and commanderies, with Clerkenwell exercising administrative and spiritual jurisdiction over all houses of the Order in the United Kingdom. There was no separate Welsh priory, but the Welsh houses of the Order were administered from three local commanderies, Slebech, Dinmore, and Halston. Slebech Commandery of Flemish-Norman foundation and patronage, was located in Pembrokeshire, but it supervised houses and lands in Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, and Gower. Dinmore and Halston supervised Hospitaller foundations in Southeast and North Wales respectively and on the English borderlands. Geographically, these holdings were located, so to say, in the rich Norman suburbs of Wales and not in the hinterland where the land is hilly, the soil poor, and the population Welsh. In this respect, Professor Rees pointedly tells why there were no Hospitaller and Templar donations in "Welsh Wales."

As with the houses of other religious orders in Wales, documents relating to the two military orders are meager. Professor Rees has made the most of the documents extant—principally the report made to the grand master in 1338—to demonstrate monastic social and economic life. The three Welsh commanderies fol-



lowed a pattern similar in organization and administration. Each had its preceptor, serving-brothers, chaplains, and corrodies. Revenues were derived from cattle, crops, mills, fisheries, fixed tenant-rents and services, tolls of markets and fairs, profits from courts, and the revenue accruing from the product of tithes and church offerings. One of the main departures from the practices of other religious orders was the "confraternity" on whose members a tax was levied for the support of the order. The usual levy was 1*d.* annually on each householder possessing goods valued at 10/-. In 1338, this tax returned £20-0-0 to Slebech on its Pembroke holdings alone, but in 1535, it was "farmed" for £5-6-8.

Despite the fact that income was large, expenditure was heavy. All Hospitaller houses were famed for hospitality. In one year, Slebech expended forty quarters of barley and fifteen of peas and beans to feed the poor; eighty quarters of wheat were used for bread, eight quarters of barley malt, and one hundred twenty quarters of oat malt for ale, £13-0-0 for meat, fish, and game. In 1338, the three commanderies had several corrodaries who received food and shelter for themselves and their small retinue. One William received each night in his bedchamber one gallon of the best ale, and, according to the season, four candles and a faggot of wood. Another received daily for himself and his wife three white loaves of bread and two gallons of better ale. Not unlike houses of other religious orders in Wales, lack of discipline and bad administration undermined the Hospitallers spiritually and economically so that by 1540 their once large manorial returns had dwindled to practically nothing.

As a study in monastic economy, Professor Rees's book is extremely valuable. However, while there are some unintentional misconceptions of monastic organization, they in no way vitiate the excellence of his contribution. The author certainly intended Augustinian rather than Benedictine Rule (p. 8) because neither the Hospitallers nor Templars lived according to the Benedictine Rule. They adapted to their use that of the Augustinian Canons. St. Bernard who was very closely associated spiritually with the Templars wrote his *De Laude Novae Militiae* (Migne, *PL.*, 182) for that Order (p. 8). The Templars were suppressed provisionally in 1312. By the papal bull, *Ad Providam* (May 2, 1312) their goods, except those in the Iberian Peninsula, were transferred to the Hospitallers while their provisional suppression was promulgated in the bull *Considerantes Dudum*. (May 6, 1312).

Fordham University

JEREMIAH F. O'SULLIVAN

## Modern European History

THE PROGRESS OF THE JESUITS (1556-79). By *James Brodrick*, S.J. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1947. Pp. vii, 337. \$3.50.)

THIS is a charming book about the Jesuits in the generation following Loyola's death. Learned, it gives old and new information freshly. Its style is delightful and

the translations from sources reveal that Father Brodrick is to the manner born. Because it is not an angry treatise, because it is so good-humored, one is almost prepared to grant that it is not a book of controversy.

Based largely on the letters of the Jesuits, the book takes us inside the Society, where we feel the tensions, the tumult, the pain, the dedication of its precarious youth, and sense the strong flavors of the divers personalities in this select band. We are in Rome in the days of volcanic Paul IV, and Paris in the hot years around 1560 when the fight with bishop, *parlement*, and theological faculty was tough, and horrid Civil War began. The lineaments of the remarkable Laynez are etched as by a master; the peregrinations of Nadal seem amazing. An engaging chapter finds the Jesuits occupied with Mary Stuart; "many sins will be forgiven her," concludes Father Brodrick, "because she loved Holy Church so much." There is much more, and much worth knowing; but we must pass to deeper matters.

The author considers that Queen Catherine of France and Michel de l'Hôpital, who are associated with tolerant intentions, were mistaken about "the tiger" (the Huguenot) and that a true view will scarcely blame Jesuits "if they thought the best place for him [the tiger] was behind bars" (p. 57). They are bad historians, he says, those Whig writers who influenced earlier generations to sympathize with the tolerant intentions of Queen Catherine; to so interpret history is "in fact to invent history." A modern historian like Neale, "not a Jesuit or a Catholic," is more to the author's palate; for he advances truth when he declares that the effect of the policy of sweet reasonableness was to "make the religious problem graver than ever" (*ibid.*). But Father Brodrick means that Catholic survival and recovery was the religious problem. The Huguenot *was* guilty—of worsening that problem. But why not rise above true partisanship and avow a higher truth?—one worthy, let us say, of Lord Acton, who said, "truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history." (*History of Freedom*, p. 149.) If this is to ask too much, can we not ask from the historian at least a wider perspective? What of this view?—"All through the religious conflict policy kept the upper hand. When the last of the Reformers died, religion, instead of emancipating the nations, had become an excuse for the criminal art of despots. Calvin preached and Bellarmine lectured, but Machiavelli reigned." These are not Father Brodrick's words, but Acton's. (*Op. cit.*, p. 44.)

It is simply assumed by Father Brodrick, not contended, that the cause, ideals, works of these Jesuit fathers were great and wonderful; and, if we grant the unexpressed assumption that the ends when achieved were wonderful and beautiful we are led to speak of good works and of great and good men. But we shall no doubt one day have just as good-tempered and charming books about Communist *dévots*, saints, and martyrs of these our times. The Jesuit gave all for what he knew to be "freedom"; as much do Communist zealots for the "freedom" which is truth and life to them. What neither Jesuit nor Communist will grant is that

freedom includes the principle of tolerance and the individual liberty and right of others to dissent and live.

*Duke University*

ERNEST W. NELSON

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF TYCHO BRAHE. By *John Allyn Gade*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1947. Pp. xii, 209. \$3.50.)

To celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of his birth, we have an excellent book on Tycho Brahe, who was born December 14, 1546, at Knudstrup in Scania, then belonging to Denmark but now part of Sweden, and who died in Prague in 1601. The oldest son in a family of ten children, he went as a very small boy to live with his uncle, George Brahe at Tostrup, a beautiful castle which is still in excellent condition. There he lived a happy life under the loving care of his uncle and aunt. A precocious youth, he entered the University of Copenhagen at the age of thirteen.

Before his fourteenth birthday, on August 21, 1560, there occurred in Copenhagen a partial eclipse of the sun, an event which kindled in the boy's mind a determination to devote his life to astronomy. A science which could predict the motions of the heavenly bodies with such accuracy as to foretell the coming of the eclipse, must be, he thought, almost divine.

After the completion of his three years at Copenhagen, in 1562 he went to Leipzig, ostensibly to continue his studies of law, but, behind his tutor's back, he devoted his energies to observing the stars, his only instruments being a small globe no bigger than an orange, a pair of compasses, and a cross-staff of two rods. Later, having fallen heir to his uncle's estate, he was able to give up his life wholly to astronomy, now more than ever his one consuming interest. After some time in Germany, first at Wittenberg, then at the University of Rostock, where he lost a good part of his nose in a duel over some mathematical point, Tycho went, in 1569, to Augsburg. Here were constructed his three famous instruments: a great globe of five feet diameter, a metal quadrant with radius of nineteen feet and over-all length of thirty-seven feet, and a large sextant for measuring the angular distances between the stars. Though the telescope was not discovered until eight years after his death, Tycho in the remaining thirty years of his life, by great skill and assiduity, made observations which have come to be recognized as the most important of any made in the history of astronomy. Without Tycho's observations there would not have been the three great laws of planetary motion formulated by his assistant, Kepler, and without Tycho's observations there could not have been discovered the law of universal gravitation by Newton. Tycho's greatest single observation was made on November 11, 1572, when there blazed forth the new star, or nova, in the constellation of Cassiopeia. It became as brilliant as Venus, then gradually faded, but it remained visible for seventeen months, until March, 1574.

Tycho's fame as an astronomer soon spread throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Having been persuaded that this brilliant astronomer should be kept at home in Denmark, King Frederick II, in 1576, decreed that the island of Hveen, in the Sound, should be given to Tycho for an observatory to be erected and maintained at royal expense. Here, as the fame of the Danish astronomer widened still further, many royal personages came to pay homage to him, among whom may be mentioned James VI of Scotland, later James I of England, and scholars came in large numbers to work under him. He demanded much of his assistants, but Tycho himself worked harder than any of them, and nothing in his own or in contemporary biographies indicates that he ever slept in the daytime to make up for the sleep lost from many night vigils.

The author, known to his host of friends as "Jack" Gade, is well qualified to write an authoritative story of life in Denmark. One of Hoover's assistants in the Committee on Relief for Belgium, he became a naval officer in World War I and a naval attaché at the United States legation at Copenhagen, later serving as representative of the State Department in the Baltic provinces. Still later he returned to active service with the United States Navy, where he rose to the rank of captain. Two of his previous books deal with Scandinavia: *Charles XII, King of Sweden* (1917), and *Christian IV of Denmark* (1928). In *The Life and Times of Tycho Brahe* he has written a most fascinating book.

University of Virginia

S. A. MITCHELL

ENGLAND: A HISTORY OF THE HOMELAND. By *Henry Hamilton*, Jaffrey Professor in Political Economy, Formerly Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Aberdeen. Edited by Lancelot Hogben. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1948. Pp. 597. \$6.00.)

THIS book is not just another history of England; indeed the author in a ten-page introduction is at pains to tell us so. He is a disciple of Gordon Childe (*What Happened in History*) and agrees with him that history is not "just politics," nor even "merely politics diluted with economics." It is "the story of the life of mankind, the natural history of an animal species with habits so peculiar and a record so unique as to justify a science devoted to its own past."

The book is divided into five parts: "Our Needs," "Our Work," "Human Relations," "Other Human Beings," and "Our Institutions." Each principal topic is divided, in turn, into four or five subtopics; for example, Part I deals in successive chapters with land, capitalist farming, food, dress, and health; Part V, with government, social security, education, and freedom of thought and person. The author's method in writing his chapters on the various subtopics is, generally, chronological. Only the past one hundred and fifty years of history is set forth in any detail. References to Stuart and Tudor times are frequent and helpful but those to medieval times are so brief as to be worthless unless the student brings with him

a trustworthy knowledge of the Middle Ages. It is clear that Professor Hamilton is not much in love with the chronological method on any scale. "Meticulous memorization of the *precise* calendrical reference of a social event," he says, "is rarely of importance except to the examination candidate; but it calls for little effort of memory to place the approximate date of an occurrence, if one has a lively appreciation of its interconnections with other noteworthy occurrences . . ." (p. 20). Time charts appear here and there in the text to help the reader to visualize such interdependence of events.

As a social history of the past century and a half the book should serve a useful purpose in American university classrooms, especially if used with another work built upon more conventional lines. Students will find an abundance of detail on the topics considered, but teachers will find that the facts are familiar. There are more than one hundred illustrations, some of them not very familiar, which light up the subjects under discussion better than many pages of print. Unfortunately, owing to technical handicaps no doubt, the reproductions are poor.

One of the author's special interests is internationalism. In his introduction he writes, "National boundaries now figure as the creation of children pegging out individual claims to a place on the earth's surface after much futile bickering and squabbling and stand-up fights." And in his chapter on government he says, "The applications of modern technology in warfare have now made the organization of world government a necessity of survival, and belief in the nation-state as the ultimate source of political authority has thus become a menace to mankind. The supreme intellectual task of our time is to clarify what things men and women can best do together in larger and in smaller units of authority than that of the nation-state . . ." (p. 472).

Boston University

W. O. AULT

THE HISTORY OF THE *TIMES*. Volume III, THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TEST, 1884-1912. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xv, 862. \$6.50.)

BEARING the significant subtitle, "The Twentieth Century Test," the third volume of *The History of the Times* maintains the high standards of completeness, accuracy, and objectivity that distinguished the preceding volumes. The chronological limits of Volume III coincide with the editorship of George Earle Buckle, successor at the age of twenty-nine to the post previously held by Barnes, Delane, and Chenery. Buckle did not maintain the wide and influential political contacts of his predecessors, particularly Barnes and Delaney. Personal inclination and expanded editorial duties restricted him to his office, and while he exercised wide editorial authority he is overshadowed in this period by the commanding figure of Moberly Bell, manager and managing director from 1891 to his death in 1911.

The decision to renounce circulation supremacy, to maintain the price at 3*d.*,

and to preserve the *Times* as a class publication was made by John Walter III and the editor, J. T. Delane, when the paper was still prospering. The consequences of this decision now became manifest in a period when newspaper publishing became "big business" and the press barons—Harmsworth, Newnes, and Pearson—were building their empires upon the foundations of the Education Act and the developing nexus of circulation and advertising income.

Two of the chapters on the internal history of the paper focus the entire volume—"The *Times* in Adversity and Litigation" and "The *Times* for Sale." A heavy blow was struck at the financial position of the paper when it was unjustly saddled with the costs of the special commission in the Parnell case. (The libel action was settled for a trifling sum.) These exceeded £200,000 and left the *Times* without reserves or capital to meet the intensified competition in the newspaper publishing field that began in the nineties.

Modernization of policies and production might have checked the declining circulation, but Arthur Fraser Walter, who succeeded John Walter III as chief proprietor, Buckle, and Moberly Bell held rigidly to the old tradition. "Conservative" scarcely describes the attitude of the owners and editors toward desirable and long-overdue changes in the paper—they were reactionary in insisting that the *Times* be produced on "the old lines." Moberly Bell was a resourceful manager. He kept the paper operating by supplementary income from the encyclopedia and book club enterprises developed under the *Times's* patronage by the American publishers, Hooper and Jackson. When the lesser shareholders, dissatisfied with the Walter-Bell management and the disappearance of profits, were pressing for a complete reform of the structure and operation of the enterprise, the Walters negotiated a deal that would have placed C. Arthur Pearson in control. Almost singlehanded, Moberly Bell upset this scheme and put through a plan that brought Alfred Harmsworth in as the controlling shareowner. Bell became Harmsworth's managing director, and the last chapters of the volume recount the cold war between the new owner and the guardians of tradition in Printing House Square.

Sharing approximately equal space with the internal history of the paper is the narrative of foreign and imperial developments in which the *Times*, through its outstanding service of foreign news collection and evaluation maintained a position of pre-eminence unchallenged by any other newspaper, British or foreign. These sections are constructed around familiar themes—Chinese Gordon and the Sudan, the Transvaal, the Jameson Raid, Anglo-German relations, Far Eastern developments, the Entente Cordiale, the accord with Russia, Balkan developments, etc. The *Times's* policy in reporting and assessing foreign affairs is set forth and clarified by extensive extracts from the confidential correspondence of Mackenzie Wallace, de Blowitz, Chirol, Morrison, Steed, Saunders, Lavino, and Harris. These chapters are valuable but less interesting than those on the institutional history of the paper. The amplitude of detail retards the movement of the narrative, and transitions from one theme to another, within the chapters, are

sometimes so abrupt as to be disconcerting. It is not easy to relate the reports and opinion of one journal to every major development in foreign affairs, but these portions could have been better organized to produce a tighter and smoother fabric. In connection with the diplomatic developments and the work of the *Times's* foreign correspondents, the notes on "Sources" contained in the appendix amplify the text and correct the writers of books and monographs (including this reviewer) who have fallen into error in evaluating the policy and actions of the *Times* and its correspondents.

Altogether, this volume represents high scholarship, fair and balanced judgments, and the presentation of the full record with "unconditional candour."

University of Virginia

ORON JAMES HALE

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Georges Lefebvre*, University of Paris. Translated by *R. R. Palmer*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xx, 233. \$3.00.)

WHEN *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* was published in 1939 by M. Georges Lefebvre, eminent historian of the French Revolution and professor emeritus of the Sorbonne, as his part in the sesquicentennial celebration of the French Revolution, the volume should have elicited widespread attention. The war came, and with the fall of France, most of the French edition was destroyed by order of the Vichy government. No full-length French appraisal and only two meager American notices have appeared. (See review by C. L. Lokke in *Political Science Quarterly*, December, 1940, pp. 634-35, and comment by B. F. Hyslop in "Recent Work on the French Revolution," *American Historical Review*, April, 1942, pp. 489-90). The publication of this excellent translation by Robert R. Palmer, under the title *The Coming of the French Revolution* is, therefore, doubly significant.

The change of title, the absence of the rare original illustrations, the paper, the format, and the printing, do not convey the same distinction as the original memorial volume, but the smooth, careful translation preserves the literary merit of the French prose. Mr. Palmer has inserted an excellent introduction, summarizing trends in the writing of French Revolutionary history and appraising the role of Lefebvre. The text is much more than a history of 1789. Without footnotes or bibliography, the volume is a synthesis, conveying a philosophy of the Revolution as a whole, such as could be written only by a seasoned scholar. This volume deserves to be placed with those of Michelet, Aulard, and Mathiez.

The year 1789 unfolds as a drama in four acts: the revolt of the nobles, the first victory of the bourgeoisie, the mobilization of the urban masses, and the peasant revolt. In his interwoven narrative of events and philosophy of revolution, Lefebvre often harmonizes opposing views of French Revolutionary historians, and produces a new interpretation. In discussing the causes of the Revolution, he emphasizes the necessary interrelationship between critical conditions and eighteenth



century philosophy. Personalities also played a vital role. All classes united to overthrow absolutism, and the juridical victory of the bourgeoisie, acting in behalf of all Frenchmen, was achieved without violence. The classes were not homogeneous or united within their ranks, and opposition of aims soon manifested itself. The reality of the aristocratic conspiracy against the Revolution, economic distress, and the psychology of fear and of mass movements all contributed to the resort to extralegal measures and force. Already in 1789, Lefebvre notes foreshadowing of the later waiving of legal guarantees on the plea of emergency. While violence increased during the Revolution, only a minority of any class took revolutionary action. Lefebvre admits excesses, but asserts that advance in the principles of the Revolution would not have been achieved without popular uprisings. This is argument from moral necessity, not from economic or other determinism. The transformation of the French provinces simultaneously with events in Paris demonstrates the national character of the Revolution. Lefebvre considers the role of the French peasant a unique feature among European revolutions. The French Revolution, according to Lefebvre, was a multiple movement, and a "*bloc*" only with psychological application of the word—as revolutionary spirit.

By far the most significant portion of the book is the discussion of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." Lefebvre maintains that the Declaration cannot be understood apart from conditions in 1789. It was no mere affirmation of abstractions drawn from eighteenth century philosophy but a reaction to concrete abuses. To the framers of the Declaration, sovereignty of the nation meant a denial that France was the property of the king, and equality before the law meant abolition of privileges. The right of revolution was a justification of July 14 or revolt against absolutism but was not intended to sanction revolt against constitutional order. Lefebvre considers article 1 basic, with the remaining articles an elaboration of its principles of liberty and equality. He believes that the Declaration is as significant for its omissions as for its inclusions. There was no guarantee of economic freedom, no right of assembly or petition, no right to education, no concern for "relief of the needy" (p. 176). Without definition of property and equality of means, the Declaration later received a socialist interpretation. Duties were omitted, and no relativity of rights according to circumstances was expressed. The contradictions in the Declaration are also significant. In 1789, no one thought of universal suffrage in equality of rights, but the Declaration became "a charter of political and even social democracy" (p. 181). Omissions and vagueness have led to multiple interpretations of the Declaration.

The last five pages of the translation, which omits a final exhortation to the youth of France, are a summation of the significance of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." According to Lefebvre, it is "the incarnation of the Revolution as a whole" (p. 214). He emphasizes the mutual interdependence of liberty and equality. In the universality of rights and a moral impulsion implicit in the Declaration, Lefebvre claims an affinity between the principles of 1789 and Christianity,

twin French traditions. Adherence to their principles requires voluntary self-discipline, sacrifice, and heroism.

*The Coming of the French Revolution* should be read and owned by laymen as well as historians. Each rereading reveals added meaning. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, affirmed in 1789, reaffirmed in 1939, are still goals today, and impart special significance to the publication of this translation of *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf*.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

MIRABEAU: UN GRAND DESTIN MANQUE. Par *Jean-Jacques Chevallier*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1947. Pp. 383. 325 fr.)

ON the fly-leaf opposite the title page of this book appear the titles of other works by M. Chevallier. These titles reveal an author who can turn his hand to poetry, or to the description of natural scenery, or to the editing of historical documents, or to biography, or to the story of the evolution of the British Empire. The question naturally arises whether a man of such versatility can have the ability to distinguish history from romance. After reading his *Mirabeau*, and also his *Barnave* (published in 1936), this reviewer is favorably impressed by M. Chevallier's scholarship, sound judgment, and literary skill.

It was not the purpose of the author to do a critical, full-length life of Mirabeau—that has already been more adequately done by Loménie and Stern but to show Mirabeau as an actor on the political stage and to reveal so far as possible the motives which actuated him. For this purpose there was no need to delve into manuscript material: the evidence is to be found in the printed debates of the Constituent Assembly and in various other publications, which the author indicates in his bibliographical note.

In effect, though not in form, the book is an immense scenario, featuring Mirabeau as the principal actor. He makes his *entrée en scène* in 1783, in Provence, where he stands before the law courts and pleads in person against his wife who has brought suit for separation of body. He loses his case but becomes the hero of the populace. Then follow other scenes in chronological order, with the spotlight always on Mirabeau. Incorporated in the text are numerous samples of his eloquence; one can almost hear his powerful voice and feel the presence of his overwhelming personality. What is the explanation of his frequent tergiversations? The author is at pains to find out, going behind the scenes in quest of intrigues and *combinaisons* that reveal possible motives. The conclusion to which the evidence points is that Mirabeau had his heart set on being minister, in which capacity he hoped to guide the Revolution, hold it in check, and "reconcile the royal authority with national liberty"; but, distrusted by all factions, he was obliged to tack continuously, now trimming his sails to the radical breeze, now to the conservative, in order to make headway toward the haven of his heart's desire.

M. Chevallier finds the period between August, 1790, and March, 1791, espe-

cially important for his study. During this period the role of Mirabeau, though less spectacular than during the first months of the Constituent Assembly, is more difficult to interpret. Behind the scenes the great tribune was more than ever busy with intrigues, while up front, in the glare of the footlights, he seemed to be competing with Proteus for the crown of inconsistency. For light on many obscure corners M. Chevallier acknowledges his indebtedness to the journal of the witty and sparkling Camille Desmoulins, whose intuition and whose knowledge of the under side of Revolutionary politics were often remarkable.

The apotheosis of Mirabeau after his death was the homage which public opinion paid to Mirabeau the tribune; Mirabeau the statesman missed his destiny in November, 1789, when he was debarred from the ministry by decree of the Constituent Assembly.

*University of North Carolina*

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

MIRABEAU. By *Antonina Vallentin*. Translated by *E. W. Dickes*. (New York: Viking Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 542. \$5.00.)

THE author of this volume is a European journalist who has made several previous essays into the field of popular biography. Her work shows both the good and the bad features of this type of book by this type of writer. If one may judge adequately on the basis of a translation, the story is told vividly, albeit verbosely. But it lacks continuity (and hence becomes tedious), it suffers from lack of balance (more than three fifths of the book is devoted to Mirabeau's career before 1789), and it fails to give a clear picture of the French Revolution (apart from which movement Mirabeau's life would be relatively inconsequential). Of the numerous popular biographies of the Revolutionary leader this is doubtless as good as any, perhaps better than most; and as such it will probably be widely read. Yet it will not be read for the reasons which should prompt readers to study the life of Mirabeau. It will be read partly because it stresses the sensational rather than the substantial aspects of Mirabeau's life. It will be read partly because the general reading public is usually interested in biography. It will be read partly because there is not much else for the average reader to read. It is for this last reason that Mme. Vallentin's study assumes an importance quite disproportionate to its inherent worth—as a challenge to professional historians.

As in the case of his eminent contemporaries, Mirabeau has been the subject of scholarly works in French and German, the monumental works of Loménie and Stern running into some seven volumes. But there is a dearth of substantial studies in English. Fred Morrow Fling's projected definitive treatise had not progressed beyond one published volume at the time of Professor Fling's death in 1934. The remaining volumes never found a publisher. P. F. Willert's brief sketch in the "Foreign Statesmen Series" appeared more than fifty years ago. What is generally considered the best one-volume on Mirabeau in English is a translation of Louis

Barthou's biography of him; and that has been aptly described as "a tribute by a fellow politician." There are no works in English about Mirabeau comparable, for example, with those of J. M. Thompson on Robespierre, Geoffrey Bruun and E. N. Curtis on Saint-Just, or Louis Gottschalk on Marat, the type of works which have an appeal for both scholar and layman. In other words, Mirabeau still remains to be "done"; and it is doubtless safe to predict that until such time as the professional historians bestir themselves to "do" him, the majority of readers of biography will continue to be satisfied with such treatments of him as that presented by Mme. Vallentin.

*Western Reserve University*

JOHN HALL STEWART

THE AFTERMATH OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS: THE CONCERT OF EUROPE—AN EXPERIMENT. By *H. G. Schenk*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company; New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 228. 16s., \$5.00.)

THIS is a book based on deep and wide research, and is a work definitely written for scholars. Throughout, the author assumes a knowledge of the political, social, and cultural trends and the diplomatic history of the European alliance from 1814 to 1822. In the first chapter, he distinguishes between those political conservatives who, like Bonald, Novalis, and Baader, had genuine and strong religious convictions, and others, who, like Burke, de Maistre, and Metternich, wished to use religion as a bulwark against revolution. By 1815, to nearly all classes of intellectuals, the *philosophes* seemed to be, in the words of Mme. de Krüdener, "extinct volcanoes." His whole analysis of the religious and political outlook at the close of the Napoleonic Wars gives what is now one of the best interpretations of the background of the Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance.

The author next gives a series of elaborate analyses of the outlook of the leading statesmen of the period, both in regard to the domestic issues of their respective countries, and also in relation to the international situation. He shows how the leniency toward France grew out of a desire to reroot the Bourbon monarchy, and, to a lesser degree, out of the desire to use France to help counterbalance the influence of Russia on the Continent. The reviewer believes that most of this material is familiar to students of the period, but he found the quotations from source material fresh and unhackneyed.

Everywhere among the governing classes there was a fear of revolutionary outbreaks and of a possible resurgence of France. The tendency of the statesmen was to overestimate the unity and the strength of those who opposed, after 1815, the rule of "the throne and the altar." Actually, as the author shows, "the lower orders," as they were currently called, were neither very revolutionary in attitude nor united among themselves. Still less was there, as Metternich and others

imagined, a great international tie-up among the disaffected. "This misjudgment of the situation was perhaps caused by the very high degree of unity existing inside the higher groups who were growing more and more class conscious." "It was now the general opinion throughout government circles that it was . . . dangerous to make the slightest concessions to popular demands." This is shown very clearly in 1819 in the "Six Acts" in England, and the "Carlsbad Decrees" in the Germanic Confederation. This solidarity of the governing classes, which had not existed in earlier centuries, is one of the striking features of the post-Napoleonic era.

Most of the rest of the book is devoted to a series of studies of conditions inside the principal European states, with some attention also to Spain, Naples, and Greece. The author presents a mass of details about the several economic and political situations; everywhere he shows that he has worked deeply into his subject, and he brings to his pages a large number of important facts. Especially is this true of his treatment of Russian affairs. He is, however, often so close to the material with which he works that the general outlines are blurred. Some sections seem merely to have been directly transcribed from detached notes in the author's files. He fails also either to analyze or to interpret some of his material. This makes the work somewhat difficult to read, but even more difficult to summarize. However, anyone seriously interested in the period will find here masses of interesting details, and some excellent *aperçus*.

*Oberlin College*

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

REPORT FROM SPAIN. By *Emmet John Hughes*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1947. Pp. 323. \$3.00.)

BASED on the author's four years of experience as press attaché in the American embassy in Madrid, this book presents a penetrating and highly readable analysis of the complex character and devious policies of General Franco's regime. Moderate in tone, though frankly liberal in sympathy, and felicitously phrased, this little volume probably makes its chief contribution in its descriptions and estimates of the personalities and groups that have surrounded *El Caudillo*.

The Spanish ruler is described as a leader to whom "the sweet taste of martial triumph in 1939 has never proved sickening." He is credited with "unusual craft" for elusive political maneuvering, a gift which has enabled him to keep himself in power by manipulating a delicate balance of several distinct forces. Separate chapters examine these forces in detail. One rehearses "the triumphal saga of the Spanish Army," a force which the writer estimates at 700,000 men—the strongest standing army in western Europe. With the police, the army is said to absorb half of the total budget of the state. There follows the "history and gospel" of the army's bitterly resented rival—the "brash" Falange. The story of the merger of this movement with the Carlists in the "J.O.N.S." and its relation to such other

political groups as Gil Robles' "C.E.D.A." and "Catholic Action" and the manipulation by General Franco of their offices and strength for his own ends constitute an illuminating section of the book. The church receives realistic but moderate and open-minded treatment. Though it is pointed out that its "considered conduct in political affairs has been indistinguishable from that of the Army" the author does not allow himself to overlook the fact that in Spain "the Catholic faith is so profound, so subtle, and so enduring as almost to defy description." General Franco's shift in emphasis, as the war fortunes of his Axis allies declined, from a "New Order" in which the Falange was in great prominence to an "Organic Democracy" in which the chief of state figures conspicuously as the "Defender of the Faith" and a "Bulwark of Christianity," is skillfully traced.

Two chapters, on the "Falange Propaganda Machine" and the "Security System of the Spanish State," lie in a field in which the writer is particularly at home, and he gives a vivid account of the way censorship can operate in a police state. In circumstantial detail he narrates instances of brutal punishments meted out to individuals suspected of political disaffection toward a state in which terror is no accidental phenomenon but an integral feature of the system. The probable number of political prisoners still confined in the indescribably filthy jails the author estimates as between 150,000 and 225,000. To these figures he adds 10,000 persons, mostly former Republican soldiers, still held in the labor battalions of political prisoners where, he says, conditions are worse than in the jails.

Among the Rightist forces of opposition many Monarchists of the liberal wing would regard a restoration, the author believes, as merely a useful, probably temporary, expedient. He calls attention to General Franco's success in exploiting mistakes in the tactics of Don Juan, especially the move to Lisbon. Examining the factions of the Left—Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, and guerrillas—the author finds the Communist party, with its concentration on the single, immediate goal of overthrowing the present regime and its freedom from the common fear of a renewal of civil war, the most effective and most rapidly growing group.

The policy of the western democracies toward Spain since 1945 has been such, in the writer's opinion, as to strengthen General Franco's position. Particularly has it been mistaken in concentrating criticism on the origins of Spanish fascism rather than on its current practices. He eloquently urges a policy of intervention which at most he thinks would involve economic sanctions but would surely bring a change of regime within three or four months.

Though one could wish that Mr. Hughes had not restricted himself so entirely to the political arena as viewed from the capital but had spared a few pages for conditions in the Spanish provinces, nevertheless this short, frank volume with its temperate judgments is one of the most informative studies that has come from contemporary Spain.

*Smith College*

VERA BROWN HOLMES

THE GREAT ELECTOR. By *Ferdinand Schevill*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 442. \$5.00.)

IN virtually all his writings, including the colorful and learned *History of Florence*, his most notable contribution to historical knowledge and understanding, Ferdinand Schevill has endeavored to popularize scholarship. From *Siena: The Story of a Medieval Commune* (written forty years ago) to *The Great Elector*, he has envisaged a prospective audience composed, not of a small group of professional fellow workers, "but of that larger body of men and women who constitute a spiritual brotherhood by reason of their common interest in the treasure of the past."

Does such a "broad community of cultivated men and women" still exist in our age of streamlined and bureaucratized assembly-line education? Whatever the answer, it seems doubtful that "the general reader" will have the patience to plow through this somewhat stilted and inanimate biography of the first of the so-called Three Great Hohenzollerns, the first in the order of historic appearance but the last in finding a tempered apologist among Anglo-American historians. "The occasional professional reader into whose hands this book may come" will find in Schevill's narrative a substantial body of rather mechanically integrated factual information hitherto unavailable in English. Neither Philippson's and Waddington's voluminous biographies nor the shorter and more incisive characterizations of Erdmannsdörffer, Spahn, Hintze, and Küntzel have ever been translated. Unfortunately, the brief but extremely suggestive sketch in Tuttle's *History of Prussia*, intellectually boycotted by the German academic world, has fallen into oblivion in English-speaking lands.

No fresh interpretation is here advanced. It is astounding, if not distressing, to note that an American historian of Schevill's prestige and wide scholarly experience endorses, in effect, the harmful casuistry of the old Borussian school of historiography. Schevill rejects, of course, the unmitigated partisanship of Droysen, who was the most ingenious and penetrating crusader of the national mission of the Prussian state as Treitschke was the most emotional and turgid. The sad fact remains, however, that in his protracted encounter with the highly talented but treacherous elector of Brandenburg, Schevill has come under the spell of the equally glamorous, although more studiously cautious and more subtle version of the Hohenzollern legend, as expounded by the pale *epigoni* from Koser to Küntzel. Without sharing their valuations of social ethics or political desires and loyalties he uses their arguments and accepts their conclusions. Unwittingly, he thus sanctions, for the practical purpose in hand, their "realistic," that is, romanticizing conception of *Realpolitik* and the nationalist and militarist premises underlying their postulates as to what is to be regarded as vital, progressive, inevitable, meritorious, and admirable in modern German history. Little wonder, therefore, that Frederick William emerges from Schevill's book as a towering hero who is to be praised for his "magnificent audacity" and "superhuman energy and sacrifice,"



blended with "spiritual quality." Frederick William's artful pursuit of self-interest at all costs, his truly amazing political elasticity and cunning, even if measured by the standards of his crafty age, both fascinate and bewilder his generous biographer.

Schevill does not hide the fact that the founder of a standing army in East Elbia was a persistent breaker of the law, written and unwritten. He proves a conscientious reporter of the shifty conduct of this first-rate political chess player, formidable adventurer and ambitious land-grabber who, after having crushed local autonomy and parliamentary rights, acquired the stature of a constructive statesman by beginning to consolidate a heterogeneous string of territories, scattered across northern Europe from Poland to the Rhine, into a modern polity, the military-bureaucratic parvenu state of Brandenburg-Prussia. Schevill traces his hero's attainments with obvious relish and a strong undercurrent of aesthetic satisfaction. And as for the moral aspect of the case, he makes a plea of not guilty. However, he excuses rather than defends his client by invoking the pressures of expediency and the pragmatic maxim that the victor is always right. Schevill joins Frederick William in his successful and, as it were, ignoble fight against the domestic opposition, bent on protecting, if necessary in collaboration with foreign powers, the core of its time-honored constitutional privileges against the illegal schemes and political appetites of centralized despotism on the march. Schevill shows no mercy for the lost cause and the historical alternative which it entails. *Injecting notions of nineteenth century nationalism into the seventeenth century scene*, he classifies as "shameless" and "undebatable treason" the extended struggle of the territorial diets for upholding the traditional right of opposition and the good, old principle of "no taxation without representation."

That accomplishments, while brilliant, at the same time may be deplorable, escapes the attention of Frederick William's biographer. But the strangest spectacle of all is a Christian humanist like Schevill castigating his hero whenever he comes out of a military or diplomatic venture with empty hands. The elector's armed thrust at Jülich was a "mistake," for it ended in a "fiasco," the restoration of the *status quo*. His five-year alignment with Louis XIV is labeled an "unhappy interlude" and "fatal aberration," because it turned out to be an "unprofitable association," and because it spoils Schevill's image of the elector as a brave champion of religious liberty and a "German patriot" who, we are told, was "secretly conscience-stricken over the French connection."

In striking harmony with the whitewashing tendencies, the low level of political thinking, and the intellectual stagnancy and spiritual hollowness that prevailed among the lesser luminaries of the so-called "political historians" of the Second Reich, Schevill's anachronistic appraisal of Frederick William and his historical mission rests on an intolerable and dangerous confusion of faces and, in the final analysis, on the sentimental idealization of brute force and power aggrandizement. Hence, in the end, it comes to the revival of the old, fossilized Koser-Küntzel

compromise: the mere jumble of expedients that constituted the elector's policies and measures is elevated to the level of a "political system." The means are justified, if not by the short-run, at least by the unplanned distant, ends and results. Frederick William is worthy of the ornament "Great Elector," for he was "the unconscious projector of a renovated Germany," "the founder of a self-sustained state in Germany and, through the distant consequences of his act, the restorer of Germany itself."

Obviously, the spectacular career and the devious personality of Frederick William pose many baffling questions of broad human and social significance. Professor Schevill comes to grips with some of these problems. But there are more than just a few others which he either ignores or tries to resolve by means of "let us agree at once," "we may confidently declare," "there can be no doubt," "it will at once be conceded," "it requires no comment," "the issue . . . settles itself without further debate."

Although lacking in depth and insight, conceptual clarity and analytical precision, this political biography contains much that will interest the critical professional reader. The genial author of this book and this impatient reviewer belong to different generations. This accounts, in good part, for the disparity of their views. Ferdinand Schevill, knowing that the historian's work is "dated," clearly realizes "that the most detached and single-minded effort of which he is capable will result at best in nothing more permanent than an interpretation appropriate to the generation to which he belongs and that the succeeding generation will unerringly replace his version with one in closer agreement with its altered outlook."

*Brooklyn College*

HANS ROSENBERG

LA CRISE DE L'ETAT PRUSSIEN A LA FIN DU XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIECLE ET LA  
GENESE DE LA MENTALITE ROMANTIQUE. By *Henri Brunschwig*.  
(Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1947. Pp. viii, 344. 360 fr.)

THIS volume is an extremely careful study of the spiritual, political, and economic situation in Prussia and Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, based upon a thorough knowledge of the original sources: literature both scholarly and popular, journals, reviews, administrative documents in the Prussian central and provincial archives, etc. Dr. Brunschwig gives a clear and lively picture of the Prussian "*Aufklärung*" (age of enlightenment, rationalism) before 1789, treating philosophical, theological, and political thought, public instruction, the press, and social and economic life. "*C'est la Prusse qui est la vraie patrie de l'Aufklärung—contrairement à ce qu'on observe en France, elle dispose en Prusse de tout l'appareil de l'Eglise et de l'Etat.*" The ideas of the French Revolution were accepted by Prussian educated people cheerfully but not in a revolutionary manner; for the Prussians were not only trained in a long tradition of loyalism

but also had no reason to reject their government. "*L'arbitraire du pouvoir exécutif ne sévit pas en Prusse comme en France.*" The Prussian kingdom was despotic but not tyrannical, rigidly legal and rational but not arbitrary.

Nevertheless, Dr. Brunschwig speaks of a "social and economic crisis" about the end of the century—without, however, proving clearly that there was one and that it was a serious one; he derives from it, at least in part, the genesis of the romantic mind. Complaints he found in the records, of vagrancy in the country and of misery in the towns, induce him to believe there was overpopulation and unemployment in all classes. The younger middle-class generation, he thinks, had no professional chances because the higher professions were overcrowded. The consequence was a disposition to spiritual vagabondage and adventure, sometimes complicated by revolutionary tendencies, though rarely, and then in a moral rather than political sense. The spiritual questing of this younger generation was manifested by the romanticism of the Schlegels at Jena, which Dr. Brunschwig analyzes minutely and which he brings in close (too close) connection with the mysticism of King Frederick William II and his companions. He finds the term "*mentalité de miracle*" a sort of general definition for revolutionism, mysticism, and romanticism.

But I think it is impossible and pointless to "*reduire à un commun dénominateur psychologique les membres d'une société à un moment donné.*" It is impossible, too, I think, to interpret phenomena as complicated and isolated as the Schlegels and their ideas by means as simple and universal as temporary unemployment—or by other "sociological" methods. For this reason the method and basic thesis of the book seem to me of doubtful validity; but it is an excellent description of Prussian civilization and life, admirable as completely unbiased, solid research on German history by a young French scholar.

Freiburg im Breisgau

GERHARD RITTER

DEUTSCHE BEITRÄGE ZUR GEISTIGEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG. Herausgegeben von *Arnold Bergsträsser, et al.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 252. \$4.00.)

THIS is a compilation of twelve articles by various authors, issued in co-operation with the Literary Society of Chicago by the department of Germanic languages and literature of the University of Chicago. Some of the authors were formerly professors or docents at German universities and have been living in the United States (mostly at Chicago) since the Hitler period. The fundamental idea of the collection is to show how many and important contributions are being made by the various disciplines of German scholarship within the intellectual tradition of the Occident. It is therefore difficult for a single reviewer to give an adequate appraisal of each contribution, so much the more as the articles are of unequal importance.

Perhaps the most significant is the first: O. C. von Simson's report on the liturgy of the Occidental church as one of the sublimest creations of poetry and on the close relations between true poetry and religion. The famous mosaics of Ravenna are used as the source for interpreting the ancient liturgies in a very interesting manner. Another important article is that by M. Jolles about an early poem of Lessing, "Die Religion," formerly little noted. The author succeeds in interpreting it as a very interesting source of Lessing's intellectual development: *in nucleo* it contains the whole program of his life work. An especially attractive subject is treated by W. Richter: Schiller and posterity. He studies the development of the reputation of Schiller's poetry during the nineteenth century and at the present time, making very judicious reflections about its poetical value and the "*weltanschaulichen Gehalt*" (the significance of its moral feelings and ideas). In a similar manner A. Bergsträsser deals with Goethe's understanding of peace in his works of fiction; but the result seems not particularly significant, for in Goethe's work "peace" is more a generally human than a political idea. U. Middeldorf discusses the engraver Martin Schongauer as one of the greatest German artists in the period around 1480, although we have so few pictures by his hand. His classical style is astonishing for so early a period. Some illustrations are included.

Other contributions give more of a synthesis of earlier literature rather than primary research (though never without personal contact with the sources). W. Pauck presents a very vigorous analysis of Luther's faith; the article is an excellent specimen of modern Lutheran theology and its view of the reformer. F. Caspari's sketch of the life and work of Erasmus is rather apologetic; after the splendid biography by Huizinga it is not easy to produce new views on this subject. H. Rothfels outlines the fundamental ideas of self-government in the memoirs and legal proposals of the well-known Prussian reformer Frh. vom Stein, based upon research of his own and of others. H. Steiner contributes a short account of his meetings with the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal, A. Rosenstock-Huessy another of his essays from the review *Die Kreatur*, a religious publication of the twenties, edited by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish authors in collaboration. F. K. Richter presents a survey of the inner development of the poet Wiechert and of his art; and finally K. Schefold (Basel) has compiled a bibliography (*catalogue raisonné*) of German, Austrian, and Swiss research in archaeology from 1940 to 1945.

The whole volume is a favorable product of a vigorous scholarship and of uninterrupted contact between the research of the Old and the New World—so characteristic of America today. In Germany this contact is now almost totally lacking.

Freiburg im Breisgau

GERHARD RITTER

LA RUSSIE REVOLUTIONNAIRE: DES EMEUTES DE LA RUSSIE AGRAIRE A L'ORGANISATION STALINIENNE. Par Grégoire Alexinsky. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1947. Pp. 268. 280 fr.)

IN *La Russie révolutionnaire*, his most recent book, Grégoire Alexinsky has made a commendable attempt to give the reader the story of the Russian revolutionary movement and to trace its roots back to the remote past where, as the author rightly believes, it has its origin. If for no other reason, this relatively short book is of considerable value to anyone interested in contemporary Russia. In demonstrating the motivations for the revolutionary upheavals of the Russian people, he uses facts which are in themselves valid, but his interpretation of these facts would not always be accepted by many eminent scholars of Russian history living in the United States. His explanation is along conventional lines, and would not satisfy the demands of present-day scholarship.

Some points Mr. Alexinsky seems to overstress, such as a too emphatic denial of the original character of the historical experience of the Russian people, and his insistence on the complete dependence of modern Russian revolutionaries on western European political thinking. There is no doubt that they did borrow a great many ideas, but it is equally indubitable that the same ideas underwent considerable change while being adapted to Russian conditions.

These few reservations notwithstanding, there is interesting and useful information to be found in the book. Mr. Alexinsky knew Lenin personally, and due importance must be given to his evaluation of Lenin's doctrine of "*étatisme*" and of the international character of the Communist revolution. There is an excellent chapter analyzing the Soviet state as revealed in its two constitutions of 1918 and 1936. The increasing importance of the state and the progressive loss of individual rights are made very clear.

The last part of the book, not so well presented as the earlier chapters, is devoted to the evaluation of the material accomplishments of the Soviet state, the evolution of the revolution itself, and the position of the USSR vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Being himself an opponent of the Bolsheviks, Mr. Alexinsky naturally tries to make a good case against them, thus finding himself in a very large and popular company. But even conceding that the Communist revolution took a wrong turn and led to results which are disappointing, one cannot help feeling that his arguments are the same old ones heard everywhere whose repetition is not a substitute for definitive proof.

In spite of this, and though he has not offered much that is new, Mr. Alexinsky has nevertheless presented the course of the Russian revolutionary movement and traced its origin in a clear, concise, and cogent manner. To one not familiar with the subject, he offers a brief survey of revolutionary Russia that makes easy, pleasant, and informative reading.

University of Minnesota

GEORGE W. ANDERSON

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 1929-1941. Volume I, 1929-1936. By *Max Beloff*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. xii, 261. \$4.25.)

THE Royal Institute of International Affairs is sponsoring a series of publications on Soviet foreign policy from 1917 to 1941: a bibliography of documents, a selection of documents, a history of Russian foreign relations from 1917 to 1929, and a two-volume "detailed and documented narrative history of Soviet foreign policy" from 1929 to 1941. The present volume is the first of the two which will treat of the period since 1929. Final judgment must be withheld until the series can be seen as a whole.

To present anything new, either in fact or in interpretation, is not Mr. Beloff's purpose. The design is rather to set down in some detail the facts of Russia's foreign relations as they are known, and upon them to base an analysis of Soviet policy. The result is a handbook which students will find valuable, not only for the text itself but as well for the bibliographical references in the footnotes. The footnotes seem to be intended not so much to nail down facts as to suggest where more detailed treatment may be found. Aside from a strained effort to justify British diplomacy after 1933 and a rather softer handling of Poland for her choice of German as against Russian friendship than most unbiased writers have managed, Mr. Beloff's treatment of his subject is dispassionate and impartial.

A serious weakness is the absence of an essay on the fundamentals of Russia's strategic position, fundamentals which remain the same for Bolshevik as for tsarist Russia. If there be any great contrast between the approach of the two governments to foreign policy, it is the sometimes bungling, often wavering management by Romanov diplomats of foreign relations in the light of those fundamentals, and the single-mindedness with which Bolshevik leaders, particularly since 1933, have followed a nationalist policy determined by those very fundamentals. A brief restatement of those basic factors applicable to a particular area at the opening of the treatment of that area would have given the study a cohesion which is noticeably lacking. Many will not accept Mr. Beloff's position, repeated time and again, that political relations between nations determine volume of trade between them. Potemkin's three-volume *Istoriia Diplomatii* (History of Diplomacy) might profitably have been consulted.

Balance is maintained in the text by reserving for an appendix detailed treatment of Russia's position in inner Asia and the Far East. If the second volume continues in the quality of the first, students will have before them a useful tool with which to approach the study of Soviet foreign policy.

*London, England*

MELVIN C. WREN

## Far Eastern History

JAPAN'S INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN NAVAL POWER, 1897-1917. By *Outten Jones Clinard*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXVI.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1947. Pp. iv, 235. \$3.75.)

THIS is in effect, an extraordinarily well-documented study of developments in the international relations which contributed to the rising tide of conflict between the United States and Japan during the two decades from the Sino-Japanese War to the entry of the United States into World War I, the period in which both the United States and Japan became world powers. Within that period were: the "scramble for concessions" in China; construction of the trans-Siberian railway; annexation by the United States of Hawaii; the Spanish-American War and acquisition by the United States of the Philippines and Guam; John Hay's efforts on behalf of the policies of the "open door" and the integrity of China; creation in the United States of the Naval Board and elaboration by that board of a "naval policy"; conclusion and twice renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance; the Russo-Japanese War, subsequent rapprochement between Russia and Japan, and manifestation by both of those countries of utter contempt for the principles and policies to which the United States was—had been and still is—committed; objection in the United States to Japanese immigration, and objection by Japan to that objection, with talk, in 1907 and 1913, of war; attempts by the United States to make investments in China, with vetoes by Russia and Japan; annexation by Japan of Korea; creation of the Republic of China; formation and frustration of the China Consortium; legislation by Congress toward construction of a naval station at Pearl Harbor; three years of World War I; official opening of the Panama Canal; Japan's "Twenty-one Demands" on China, and a nonrecognition note by the United States; further rapprochement between Russia and Japan in terms unfavorable to China; driving by Japan of hard bargains with her allies; steady increasing by Japan of her armaments. Throughout, between Japan and the United States, there were conflicting concepts, aspirations, and courses. Gradually it became patent, first to the top personnel in Washington, ultimately to the majority in the Congress, that a world in which the rights of peaceful nations, including the United States, were constantly being challenged and frequently trampled upon was not safe for an unarmed United States. Then finally came legislation, in the summer of 1916: two extremely significant acts, one pledging Philippine independence, the other providing for the greatest program of naval construction ever contemplated by the United States. Such are the events surveyed. From the survey, the conclusion is well drawn: it was the influence of Japan, it having been Japan with whom the United States had come into fundamental conflict, that had caused the responsible leaders of the United States to recognize the need for a powerful navy as "a vital force in the national strategy."



There are supplied ample references, valuable footnotes, a comprehensive bibliography, and a good index.

*Washington, D. C.*

STANLEY K. HORNBECK

AMERICAN-AUSTRALIAN RELATIONS. By *Werner Levi*, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1947. Pp. 184. \$2.75.)

As the author points out, it is only recently and gradually that Australians have come to realize "that the new status within the empire, acquired at Versailles and Geneva, burdened the nation with the task of policy-making and therefore with responsibility." In addition, American interests were, for a considerable time, oriented towards Europe and the Atlantic, and as late as the 1870's "the Administration's views on America's status in the southern and western Pacific were ahead of Congress and public opinion." Consequently the early history of Australia's relations with America is concerned not so much with policies as with the specific reactions of the colonies to the realities of American commercial and naval power. On the American side, it is largely the story of the contacts made with the colonies by various enterprising Americans and of their attempts to secure governmental recognition of the potentialities of the Southwest Pacific area.

With this unpromising material Dr. Levi contrives to present a sympathetic and shrewd account, considering the problems of these early years from the Australian as well as the American point of view. If the early American merchant ventures were to form the basis of an important trade relationship, they were also to give impetus to colonial requests for a revision of commercial relations within the empire. Similarly, in the fear of American naval intentions, during and after the War of 1812, is found the origin of one of the continuous elements in Australian foreign policy—the fear of aggression and the demand for security through British or Australian dominion over Australia's island fringe. Later chapters describe attempts to secure the adoption of an "Australian Monroe Doctrine," early British and American reactions to these claims, and the spirited clash at Versailles between Wilsonian idealism and the realism of W. M. Hughes. The story is brought up to date with an evaluation of the Australia-New Zealand regional pact of January, 1944, and a discussion of the question of island bases.

Concerning the evolution of American policy the argument is not nearly so conclusive. After describing the sluggish response of the American government to proposals for a Pacific mail service, the importance of American-Australasian commercial relations is listed as one of the main arguments of the expansionists. Then, in a footnote reference, doubt is cast on the "sincerity" of this argument. In fact, although American-Australian trade relations receive their fair share of attention, their exact importance in the shaping of policies is not always demonstrated.

Some of the conclusions about the influence of American political precedents on Australian constitutional development in the mid-nineteenth century are also unconvincing; in the attempt to attach an undue significance to the separatist movement of that period the argument becomes confusing, if not confused.

However, on the general question of Pacific power-politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Dr. Levi's analysis is skillful and penetrating. Especially effective is the investigation of American and Australian policies in relation to the rising power of Japan, and of the complications arising from the Anglo-Japanese treaty.

This history is, as the publishers claim, "a timely addition to the literature in this field."

*University of Melbourne*

L. E. BARAGWANATH

## American History

THE PURITAN OLIGARCHY: THE FOUNDING OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. xiv, 359. \$5.00.)

THE history of the idea of planning in America, should it ever be written, would have to begin with seventeenth century Massachusetts. The Puritan leaders who brought the charter of the Bay Colony to the New World deliberately, systematically, and shrewdly planned a Bible state where government was to be in the hands of church members, and in which the population, grouped into town communities, was to be managed, in its moral, social, economic, intellectual, and religious life, by right-minded men. For a few years after its inception the scheme might be said to have worked successfully. Rifts began to appear by the second generation, and by the third, towards the end of the century, the imposing structure was wrecked beyond repair. Massachusetts had ceased by then to be "a plantation religious," and had become "a plantation of trade"; scattered farms had tended to supplant towns, which meant a lessening of all kinds of social controls; the educational system had fallen into the hands of liberals; immorality had increased beyond the power of the synod to check it; rationalist epistemology had slowly sapped the reality of the Puritan's invisible world; and finally the intervention of England had taken government out of the hands of the church.

Such, in brief summary, is the thesis which Professor Wertenbaker presents. Writing avowedly as a Southerner, disliking both the Puritans and the over-emphasis which he feels historians have given them, he has still, within these intentional limits, tried to appraise them fairly. He really prefers those who rebelled against Puritanism, because they contributed far more than their foes to the building of America. He is modest in admitting that some of his imperfectly

worked out ideas, such as the one on the supplanting of towns by farms, might stand further investigation.

Such disarming modesty lures a reviewer to suggest areas where, in line with Professor Wertenbaker's own thesis, his book might have been strengthened. There is much about "planned community," for instance, but little about "planned economy," far less indeed than either the documents or the thesis warrant. More on Puritan theology, which is scarcely dealt with, and on the changes it underwent, would have been in keeping with the most recent inquiries into the Puritan mind and might have added a telling chapter to his argument. Much too little is said about the influence of later immigrants, who brought from England ideas more rationalistic and more materialistic than any known in the England the founding fathers had left. Professor Wertenbaker recognizes of course the importance of the English background, devoting a suggestive chapter to manorial practices, some of which, incidentally, were not necessarily known in the East Anglia from which the Puritans came. Perhaps, had he investigated also the changing temper of the mother country as the century wore on, he might have found in the transmission to Massachusetts of post-1660 English culture another major reason for the failure of the great experiment.

The value of this book lies in its thesis, and if sometimes that seems logically to limp slightly, it is still too good a thesis to dismiss on such grounds. Certainly, by Professor Wertenbaker's own facts, the breach in the Puritan structure was not everywhere apparent by the end of the seventeenth century. Not until 1699, for example, did Leverett and his liberals gain control of Harvard, and if there were other earlier lapses in the educational system, nothing is said about them. Only in the eighteenth century did Wren's influence replace the four-square meetinghouse of the Puritans with the graceful soaring spire of Georgian church architecture. Was there no earlier alteration in the significant internal architecture, the arrangement of pews, the position of the pulpit and choir? And is it really an aid to the thesis to argue, as the older historians did, that the witchcraft persecution was a deliberate cold-blooded effort of the New England clergy to combat rationalism by an appeal to the supernatural? It has been maintained, with some credibility, that the epistemological bases of Puritan faith could lead, in all integrity, to belief in science and witchcraft both.

Yet these criticisms do not greatly detract from the value of the synthesis, nor does the added one that while the outward forms of the Puritan state may have been dissolved, the inner core, relentless self-discipline in accordance with the will of God, did not. Secularized, stripped of its trappings, the Puritan spirit continued to survive. Professor Wertenbaker, with his customary gentleness, might grant that. After all, he is the first historian to put together in book form a rounded picture of the Bible state in all its aspects. His synthesis carries weight. It cannot be disregarded by any future student of our colonial beginnings.

*Newberry Library*

STANLEY PARGELLIS

COLONISTS IN BONDAGE: WHITE SERVITUDE AND CONVICT LABOR IN AMERICA 1607-1776. By *Abbot Emerson Smith*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1947. Pp. viii, 435. \$5.00.)

CHRONOLOGICALLY, geographically, and topically this work undertakes to give a complete picture of the subject. It covers both the continental and island colonies, studies the conditions which led to bondage, follows the servant over the ocean, and even studies his success after he attained freedom.

It is Dr. Smith's belief that except for mass impulses to emigrate such as caused the Puritan movement of the 1630's some external pressure was normally necessary to prevail upon people to move. In the case of the indentured servants who "came essentially as cargoes of merchandise representing a supply of labor" and of the redemptioners who "came essentially as emigrants hopefully transporting themselves to a new home in America" this stimulus was provided by the emigrant agent whose lack of scruples and deviations from truthfulness often caused him to be popularly condemned in England as a "spirit" and in Germany as a "Soul-seller." The state, of course, provided the compulsion in the case of political and military prisoners, rogues and vagabonds, and convicts, who Dr. Smith finds were not merely petty offenders as often believed but felons who the judges thought were useless and dangerous in England.

In discussing the problem of procuring cargoes of these laborers in Britain Dr. Smith is at his best. He has diligently studied the archives in Britain and has carefully analyzed his data. As he crosses the Atlantic, however, and studies the laborer's status in the New World, his research is less extensive and he has fewer new facts to offer.

He has less respect for the indentured servant than most of the scholars who have previously studied the subject. He states that while "America was a haven for the godly, a refuge for the oppressed, a challenge to the adventurous . . . it was also the last resort of scoundrels" (p. 5). He believes that "in the eyes of contemporaries indentured white servants [as contrasted with redemptioners] were much more idle, irresponsible, unhealthy, and immoral than the generality of good English laborers" (pp. 287-88) and estimates that about two out of ten servants, somewhat more of the redemptioners and many fewer of the convicts succeeded in the New World (pp. 298-305). Statistically his conclusion is based upon a mere ten-year analysis of the Maryland Land Books (1670-80) and is not supported by Professor Wertenbaker's study of similar Virginia records. Basically it rests upon the point of view sadly expressed by the Georgia Trustees that "many of the Poor who had been useless in England were inclined to be useless likewise in Georgia."

A statistical appendix cites emigration and immigration records, the registration of indentures, naval office lists, data concerning convict shipments, land warrants, tax returns, census estimates, and governors' reports. Among other con-

clusions Dr. Smith states that, except for the Puritan migrations, not less than one half nor more than two thirds of all white immigrants were held in bondage.

Dr. Smith's enterprise and courage in supplementing his qualitative analysis with quantitative data are to be commended. Unfortunately he has failed to analyze fully the ratios and relationships which can be detected and to provide a closely knit picture in which each fragment of evidence can be used to correct, supplement, or corroborate conclusions drawn from the others. Thus far he has provided the raw material for a statistical picture rather than the picture itself. In view of his wide knowledge of the subject we can only hope that he will undertake this additional task. Meanwhile we should render thanks for the very real contribution he has already made.

*University of California*

LAWRENCE A. HARPER

THE FIRST FRONTIER. By R. V. Coleman. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xiii, 458. \$3.75.)

WHEN Mr. Coleman, a history-minded publisher, could find no one book in his extensive library that "told the inside story of how this country began" or "why the first settlers came, what sort of people they were, how they made their livings, how they behaved, what they thought about," he set himself the task of showing how "all up and down the coast, from Florida to Maine, men and women had lived and died . . . and their acts and thoughts had made America what it became." The result is *The First Frontier*, a handsomely printed book enriched by eighty-three illustrations and twenty-seven maps. Beginning with the early Spanish explorations, it closes with the establishment of a continuous English frontier by the capture of New Amsterdam.

The author makes no claim to original research, but his some 650 bibliographical notes (there is no bibliography) show complete familiarity with all the printed material; and although there is little here that is new to the scholar, there is much that may be new, and probably startling, to the layman for whom the book was written. He may be surprised, for instance, to learn that fishing fleets and fur traders were active along the New England coast long before Jamestown and Plymouth; that furs and lumber, especially clapboards, were almost the sole colonial exports, without which the colonists might have been abandoned by their English sponsors, who got so little return for their considerable investments. In fact, Mr. Coleman pays far more attention than is customary to the purely speculative and financial aspects of the early colonial movement.

This interest leads him to write at considerable length about the various colonial councils and the charters and patents granted by them. The councils themselves so overlapped and at times had such a shadowy existence that their story is a confused one at best; it cannot be said that Mr. Coleman has been wholly successful in clarifying it. Nor is it easy to follow the fortunes of Mason or of

Claiborne or of the various members of the Gorgos family as they dodge in and out of the picture. In spite of this, however, the reader gets an impression of rivalry, of bustling activity, of settlements made or attempted, that cannot be obtained from textbooks.

The jacket blurb seems to stress the bizarre and unusual. It is true that the story, from Roanoke to New York, is lightened by touches of human interest, many of which may be new to the general reader, but Mr. Coleman never loses his sense of balance and proportion: the aberrations of our forefathers are used to illustrate and humanize the story, they are not the story itself. Mr. Coleman might have given a more dramatic account of the treatment of Roger Williams or of the winning of the franchise by the freemen of Massachusetts, but the essential facts are well presented. The two chapters, "The Tobacco Colonies" and "The Puritan Colonies," devoted largely to the social scene, are particularly to be commended.

Mr. Coleman has, then, succeeded in his task: the presentation of a well-rounded picture of the events of colonial history, and of the "acts and thoughts" of the men and women who made that history. He rides no hobbies; he indulges in no fine writing. He has written a good book.

*Dartmouth College*

ARTHUR H. BASYE

AMERICA: IDEAL AND REALITY: THE UNITED STATES OF 1776 IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN PHILOSOPHY. By *W. Stark*, Lecturer in Social Studies, University of Edinburgh. [International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.] (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company. 1947. Pp. viii, 115. 10s. 6d.)

THE volume under review is the third which Dr. Werner Stark has contributed to Karl Mannheim's monumental International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. The prospectus of the library lists all three under the heading "Philosophical and Social Foundations of Thought." In his preface (p. vii) Dr. Stark declares that the present work was inspired by Saint Simon's statement that he regarded the "early history of the United States as a grand social experiment."

In the introduction, which the present reviewer found the most stimulating portion of the book, Dr. Stark elaborates his major thesis, which is the tragic contrast between the eighteenth century bourgeois ideal, exemplified in the American experiment, and the reality of modern capitalism. The introduction also discusses the optimism of Leibnitz, Voltaire's pessimism resulting from the impact of the Lisbon earthquake, and Rousseau's essentially optimistic reply to Voltaire. Four fairly lengthy chapters follow, devoted in turn to the thought of Raynal, Mably, Chastellux, and Brissot. Thus the word "European" in the title is disappointing, since the philosophers examined in the body of the book are exclusively French. In studying the four French thinkers the author divides his

attention fairly equally between their basic philosophic outlook and their reactions to American conditions. A final chapter discusses the conflict of ideals in the United States between John Adams, supporting the class state, and John Taylor of Caroline, defending the egalitarian state.

The work is primarily a study in the intellectual history of eighteenth century France rather than an objective account of American affairs. Rousseau had expressed the ideal of an egalitarian "commonwealth of peasants and artisans" (p. 10), to which French thinkers saw a reasonably close approximation in the United States. Why the author should consistently call such an ideal "bourgeois" is not entirely clear. Certainly a more careful distinction should have been made between petit and grand bourgeois. It is perhaps pertinent that Brissot, the only true petit bourgeois examined, gave the most complete adherence to the ideal under discussion. Possibly the chief value of the book to the historian will be the convenient summary which it presents of the thought of Raynal, Mably, and Chastellux, about whom there is little readily available in English.

*Dartmouth College*

JOHN G. GAZLEY

HERITAGE OF FREEDOM: THE HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BASIC DOCUMENTS OF AMERICAN LIBERTY. By *Frank Monaghan*, Historical Consultant, American Heritage Foundation. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. 150. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.00.)

THIS book was designed "to provide an opportunity for a leisurely and serious reading of many of the basic documents of our history." For each document the historical background is summarized by the editor, and these documents form the collection that is being exhibited on the Freedom Train, which recently toured the United States. It is sponsored by the American Heritage Foundation, and the Documents Advisory Committee included Julian P. Boyd, Solon J. Buck, Luther H. Evans, A. S. W. Rosenbach, and S. K. Stevens. Materials have been drawn from private collections as well as the Library of Congress and the National Archives.

Within the compass of 145 pages, 132 documents (in whole or in part) have been included. Forty-seven of these, including Thomas Jefferson's first draft of the Declaration of Independence, the treaty recognizing the independence of the United States, and the farewell address of George Washington, comprise the first seventy pages, and carry the story down to 1796, although documents prior to that date appear later. For the period 1796-1862, six documents are included: a letter of Thomas Jefferson on an honest press (1807), a report of Andrew Jackson on the battle of New Orleans (1815), the logbook of the U. S. Frigate *Constitution* for February 8, 1815, an account of the Alton Trials published in 1838, the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), and a letter of Louis Kossuth (1852). Docu-



ments 84-93 deal with the freedom of the press. The twenty concluding pages are given to some thirty documents for the period 1941-45.

Thirty-four documents (in full or in part) are reproduced in facsimile. These include an early fourteenth century manuscript of Magna Carta (from the John H. Scheide Library), a contemporary manuscript statement of Nathaniel Bacon's Manifesto (from the collections of Colonial Williamsburg and the Institute of Early American History and Culture), a title page of the first edition (1644) of Roger Williams' statement on religious freedom (from the Library of Congress), the original official joint resolution (September 25, 1787) of Congress, containing the Bill of Rights (from the National Archives), and the original manuscript of "The Star Spangled Banner" (from the Walters Art Gallery).

If this book comes to the attention of inquiring foreigners, as well it may because of the claims made for it, they may find it strange that so much attention is given "the beginnings" and so little given to well-known aspects of the nineteenth century, when America was more and more identified with democracy. For citizens who have passed through our schools and who have been repeatedly "exposed" to United States history, most of this collection will seem familiar. It will be expected. Perhaps the emphasis upon conflicts leading to war, and upon battles and crises in the midst of war, will be less expected. Nationalism as a product of conflict is a dominant theme in the concept of freedom presented in this collection.

What is the reader of the *American Historical Review* to think of this summary of our heritage? So usual is the pattern, and so elementary the presentation of the general theme, he will be inclined to dismiss it quickly and go on to "more complicated and significant" tasks. He may overlook the fact that this is *not* a book of readings on democracy. Yet he knows that freedom in American thought and feeling has not been confined to freedom of press and religion, nor freedom from tyrants. Much of what we call American liberty has been expressed best in an outburst of affirmative action in building a nation of continental proportions. The *people* have wished to act. Much of our concern has been with freedom from government. A Freedom Train containing documents representative of the political agitation, the economic demands, and the social aspirations of the past century would express very vividly what historians include in their concept of freedom in America.

There is a simple explanation for the appearance of the Freedom Train in 1948. It represents a living interest in our past as a free people, and it is a sign of our belief that an alert social intelligence will draw accurately from the past in its effort to construct an acceptable future. The existence of the Freedom Train is in itself an achievement of unusual significance. This collection of documents is a permanent record of that achievement. Ably edited and very effectively presented by the Princeton University Press, this volume deserves a place in the literature of the Heritage of Freedom.

Yet this contemplation of the record emphasizes with renewed vigor our over-

whelming interest in what we are to do with it. Speaking before the Tammany Society in New York City on the Fourth of July, 1926, and referring to the Declaration of Independence as being "in a glass case down in Washington," Alfred E. Smith said, "You can't lock up liberty in a safe." So, too, we know we cannot confine American freedom to a collection of documents on the Freedom Train. It is fortunate for us that the spirit of our people has been untrammelled. We have been free—to the extent that we have been free—in the sense that we accepted the responsibilities of freedom.

*Stanford University*

EDGAR EUGENE ROBINSON

AMERICAN OVERTURE: JEWISH RIGHTS IN COLONIAL TIMES. By *Abram Vossen Goodman*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1947. Pp. xiv, 265. \$3.00.)

THE Jew's achievement of citizenship status in the American colonies was the initial step in his march toward world emancipation, and therefore the struggles of America's early Jews to this end, have, in a real sense, a world-wide significance. Expelled from England in the reign of Edward I, the Jews were not permitted to set foot on English soil until Charles II came to the throne in 1660. Their achievement of legal status was more rapid in the colonies than in the mother country, and the purpose of this scholarly and well-documented volume is to tell the story of their climb toward citizenship in each of the thirteen colonies.

Strange as it may seem in the light of what we know of Puritan intolerance, the Jews were not harshly treated in colonial New England and were never considered public enemies there, as were the Roman Catholics and the Quakers. By the end of the seventeenth century there were Jews resident in New England, where we find them testifying in court and even elected to office. Judah Monis, a Jew, was granted an honorary M.A. at Harvard College in 1720 on the strength of a new Hebrew grammar he was projecting. A short time later he was appointed an instructor of Hebrew, though by this time he had embraced Christianity. He later married a lady of Puritan stock and when he died left most of his estate as a fund for the relief of clergymen's widows, which is now administered by the Unitarians.

Jews appeared in the colony of New York in the Dutch period and by the end of the seventeenth century composed about two per cent of the population. The New York Jews were the first to establish a synagogue, which was in existence by 1700 and still continues under the original name, Shearith Israel ("the Remnant of Israel"). Under British rule the New York Jews were permitted to become naturalized citizens and were granted fair treatment in the courts. In Philadelphia several wealthy Jews were admitted into the highest social circles and Jewish boys were in attendance at the academy and later in the College of Philadelphia.

Of all the colonies South Carolina had the most uniformly favorable record in

the treatment of Jews. It was the first community in the modern world to grant the Jews the right to vote, and it was also the first where a Jew was elected to high office by his Christian neighbors. The settlement of Georgia has an interesting Jewish sidelight. With intentions similar to Christian philanthropy, a group of wealthy English Jews attempted to secure the admission of certain destitute Polish and German Jews who had fled to England, and, when the request was denied by the trustees, proceeded to smuggle forty-three of them into the colony. John Wesley in his *Journal* (April 4, 1737) has this good word to say for some of his Jewish neighbors in Georgia. "I began learning Spanish in order to converse with my Jewish parishioners, some of whom seem nearer the mind that was in Christ than many of those who call him Lord."

Though there were never more than a thousand Jews at any one time in the thirteen colonies, their presence was a real contributing factor in helping to shape the American doctrine that religion is a personal concern and that a man's religious loyalties need not conflict with his duties as a citizen.

*University of Chicago*

WILLIAM W. SWEET

THE HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF VIRGINIA. By *Robert Beverley*.

Edited with an Introduction by *Louis B. Wright*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg. 1947. Pp. xxxv, 366. \$4.00.)

THE Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, merits the thanks of all those interested in the formative years of our nation for the republication of Beverley's *The History and Present State of Virginia*. This book, published in London in 1705, was the first history of the colony of Virginia written by a native Virginian and it covered the first century of the life and activities of the colonists in the Old Dominion. The original edition is a collector's item and has been available to few students except in large libraries.

A biographer of Beverley has characterized the book as one marked with "tonic originality, shrewd observation, and humorous comments upon the foibles of the Southern planter." This is an apt characterization and Beverley's history remains a landmark in the historiography of the early colonial period. His style is remarkably modern and might easily have been written two hundred years later. As far as practicable the original text has been reprinted faithfully and the type form reflects that used in 1705. One reading the book today cannot fail to be impressed with the clarity of the author's style, the wealth of knowledge of conditions he possessed, and the soundness and fairness of his treatment.

Robert Beverley was born in 1673, the son of an English Cavalier who came to Virginia in 1663. In accordance with the practice of the Virginia gentry, he was sent to England for his education, and on his return he began his career as a public servant. In due season he was elected clerk of the general assembly and

later served as a burgess for Jamestown in that assembly. While in England on business in 1703-1705, he had occasion to read the manuscript of Oldmixon's *British Empire in America* and, because of his dissatisfaction with the author's treatment of Virginia affairs, he entered on the preparation of his own account.

Beverley's narrative comprises four books. The first is concerned with the history of the settlement of the colony in 1607, its growth and development, and its government during the first century. The second gives a detailed treatment of its natural resources and its trade with the mother country and the other settlements in America. The third, perhaps the most interesting, describes the Indians with whom the Virginians came in contact, their religion, laws, and customs. The fourth is devoted to a searching analysis of "the present state of the Country, as to the polity of the Government, and the Improvements of the Land."

The editorial work has been done in that careful, precise, scholarly fashion historians have come to expect from Louis B. Wright, formerly of the Henry E. Huntington Library, now director of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington. Mr. Wright's introduction contributes a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Beverley and his history. It adds immeasurably to the value of this republication for historical scholars and for others interested in the early years of the English people on this continent. The University of North Carolina Press deserves praise for the fine appearance of the book.

Randolph-Macon Woman's College

THEODORE H. JACK

VIRGINIA'S MOTHER CHURCH AND THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT GREW: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA AND OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF THAT COLONY, 1607-1727. By *George MacLaren Brydon, D.D.*, Historiographer of the Diocese of Virginia. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society. 1947. Pp. xxii, 571. \$7.50.)

THIS is the first of a series of three volumes on the history of the Anglican Church and its successor the Episcopal Church in Virginia. The first volume, now issued, covers the period of 1607 to 1727; the second volume will carry the account from 1727 to the death of Bishop Madison in 1812; and the third volume will bring events from 1812 to the present time. It is well known that we have no full account based upon the new information found in publications of the past sixty years. The two volumes by Bishop William Meade published in 1857 have been accepted as the final word on the subject, although the bishop wrote at a time when few official records of England and of Virginia were at hand; he did have the advantage of using Dr. Thomas L. Hawks's volume published in 1837. Dr. Brydon estimates he has had access to ten times the number of records those two authors used. By using the data from Dr. Kingsbury's *Records of the Virginia Company*, Dr. Brydon offers us the best narrative of the church in the com-

pany period, 1607 to 1624, that we have; he clearly shows there was a sincere effort at that time to expand, to improve, and to supervise the churches. The turbulent political and religious conditions in England from 1625 to 1689 were bound to have a disastrous effect in Virginia. In that period there never was a cordial and consistent co-operation of the governing authorities in England with the churches in Virginia. Throughout the volume the author calls attention to the absence, which he considers deplorable, of a presiding and authoritative local head, or bishop. "The very great difficulty of the Church throughout the whole Colonial period was that it existed as simply a group of separate parishes with no center of life and unity above them around which a corporate life could grow" (p. 320). Some customs contrary to the canons of the church as accepted in England were bound to grow up in a new, sparsely settled country; and among them was the insistence by the vestries of the right of presentation of their ministers and their refusal to induct them, preferring to employ them by the year. The author enlarges upon this as an indication of an independent spirit which was one of the factors in developing a desire for independence in the period of the American Revolution. Since the affairs of an established church cannot be discussed apart from the accompanying political events, the author blends the two most skillfully, and for this reason the reviewer is of the opinion that the volume will appeal to the general reader as well as to the specialist in church history. Some of the subjects to which rather full attention is given are: the development of the ancient boroughs, the particular plantations, the parishes, and the counties; the effects of the toleration act; the beneficent influence of Henry Compton, bishop of London; the two missionary societies, S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.; James Blair as president of the college and commissary, especially his unfortunate attempt to set up ecclesiastical courts, his espousal of the use of quit rents for the salaries of the clergy, his insistence in Nicholson's time upon induction of ministers, and his reversal of that stand under Spotswood; the uncertainty of the authority of the commissary under different bishops of London; the serious effect upon the poorer classes of a money system adopted primarily for the convenience of the mother country; the maintenance of a high cultural level in the colony through the preaching and teaching of schoolmasters and tutors of a ministry educated in the English and Scottish universities. The author has striven to present an impartial and balanced view, and has supported it with abundant notes and references; he has succeeded in showing that the opinion generally held of the church as altogether weak and ineffective must be revised. With this just and fair picture of the religious life of 1607 to 1727, the reader is left with a much more favorable impression of the clergy than he could get previously. The appendixes (pp. 411-538) provide the reader with some of the documents which the author has freely used in his book.

*Williamsburg, Virginia*

E. G. SWEM

## THE GREAT REHEARSAL: THE STORY OF THE MAKING AND RATIFYING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

By *Carl Van Doren*. (New York: Viking Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 336. \$3.75.)

THIS book is not written for and is unlikely to be consulted by the student of history or of the American Constitution. Rather, its apparent aim is to familiarize the layman, in a pleasant but somewhat sketchy way, with the general proceedings and aims of the federal convention of 1787. It will not add to the well-deserved reputation which Dr. Van Doren has already achieved as a historian; but by reason of the wide distribution, which will be assured by its choice as a Book-of-the-Month Club selection, and by reason of the favorable though somewhat indiscriminating reviews which it has received, its aim will be successfully furthered.

It does not pretend to be a full or adequate account of the making of the Constitution or of its adoption by the states. Indeed, such an account could not be given in a volume of so limited a size. For, out of 320 pages, only 175 are devoted to the convention itself; 58 are devoted to views expressed and proceedings taken subsequently in the state conventions; 12 pages give a description of the celebration of the adoption of the Constitution in various cities (pages which might well have been devoted to some more important subject); and 78 pages consist of an appendix containing the text of the Articles of Confederation and of various drafts of proposals for a Constitution.

In the account of the convention itself, rather undue emphasis is placed upon what is termed "The Federal Compromise," by which it was agreed that the House should be elected by the voters in the states, and the Senate be given two members from each state. A more complete conception of the nature of the performance of its task by the convention could have been obtained by the reader if more space had been given to the other great compromises which were equally important in securing final agreement on the document—compromises made necessary by divisions not merely between the small and the large states, but also between the northern and southern states, also between those individuals who held opposing economic views as well as between individuals holding more narrow state rights views as contrasted with those of the more patriotic and the more nationalist views of men who wanted a strong government which could maintain itself against foreign and domestic opposition and interference.

It might be wished that Dr. Van Doren could have taken the opportunity to point out a sorely needed caution to laymen, congressmen, platform speakers, and newspaper writers—that it is highly misleading to quote the view of any one member on a given subject, without at the same time pointing out that the view so expressed was frequently only held with reference to the form of draft of the Constitution to which the convention had at that stage agreed, and that at a later stage the view was modified. For instance, when a view was stated or a vote taken as to the election or the power of the executive, its significance frequently

depended on whether or not it had been decided by the convention at that time that the President was to be elected by the legislature.

The present reviewer is not reconciled to the choice of the title—"The Great Rehearsal"—for the arguments and final results of the convention seem to have very little bearing on the modern problem of a future world government. Dr. Van Doren seems to have overemphasized the decisions of the convention as paralleling the present world situation. The then conditions were little similar. In the first place, the most potent fact in 1787 was that the thirteen states had already for many years possessed a certain form of union—the like of which does not now exist between the various separate countries in Europe. If anything can properly be termed "The Great Rehearsal," it was the existence in 1787 of the Articles of Confederation, rather than the Constitution. In the second place, while there was in 1787 a slight difference in language between the several states (as in parts of Pennsylvania and elsewhere where the German language was used), the language in common use by all the states was the English language. In general also, there was little state-wide difference of religion. Economic differences, of course, prevailed, but in no really fundamental way. The four states of the South differed in such interests from New England but not so seriously as to make union impossible. But the most fundamental uniting fact was that all the states had a basic conception of law, resulting from their having been governed for 150 years by British common law ideas. As has been well said by Orville Prescott in the *New York Times* of January 19, 1948: "All appeals to the example of 1787 are inclined to overlook the elementary fact that the thirteen original States shared a common heritage of recent allegiance to one central authority, of language, religion, political and even of moral concepts. They all were affiliated parts of the same civilization. None of these factors, which smoothed the way for the American Union, is common to such nations as China, Russia, Pakistan, the United States and Ethiopia."

*Washington, D. C.*

CHARLES WARREN

TOTAL WAR AND THE CONSTITUTION. Five lectures delivered on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, March, 1946, by *Edward S. Corwin*. With an Introduction by *E. Blythe Stason*, Dean, University of Michigan Law School. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. Pp. xiii, 182, vi. \$2.50.)

LIONS UNDER THE THRONE: A STUDY OF THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES ADDRESSED PARTICULARLY TO THOSE LAYMEN WHO KNOW MORE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW THAN THEY THINK THEY DO, AND TO THOSE LAWYERS WHO KNOW LESS. By *Charles P. Curtis, Jr.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xviii, 368. \$3.50.)



*Total War and the Constitution*, built on an adequate and sound historical basis, begins with an examination of the period preparatory for war. It continues with analyses of the impact of war on the national government and on constitutional rights and concludes with a discussion of the Constitution vis-à-vis the United Nations. Superbly intermingled with the old question of how to fight a constitutional war is the equally old question of how to wage a constitutional peace. The provocative intermingling of these questions is Professor Corwin's major contribution to this field of contemporary literature.

Throughout the book, the emphasis is upon the powers, role, and function of the chief executive. Professor Corwin is at his best when discussing the presidency. It could be argued, however, that in this study he is unequalled in causticity when probing into the late President's incumbency. Post-Rooseveltian quidnuncs, for example, will be delighted to find Warren Harding's return to normalcy used to emphasize the conclusion that after World War II there was nothing normal to return to.

Some readers may think the author's point of view is starkly revealed with his assertion that Roosevelt's statement: "When the war is won, the powers under which I act automatically revert to the people" bears a strong family resemblance to the leadership principle against which the war was supposedly being fought. On the other hand, however, Professor Corwin quotes with approval Edmund Burke's statement: "When men act in concert, liberty is power." Others may question the conclusion that the president's role in formulating legislation for congressional consideration cannot reasonably be expected ever to become less than it was during the recent war because its need in peacetime is conceivably even greater, inasmuch as the results sought are so much more diversified and complex.

In short, this is a provocative book. It is, moreover, a highly skilled, smoothly polished, thoroughly professional study. None will read it without profit.

*Lions under the Throne*, analytical in approach, deals primarily with recent developments of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Curtis is deeply concerned with the American doctrine of judicial supremacy. It is in terms of the United States Supreme Court and the doctrine of judicial supremacy that he discusses "The Old Court and the New Deal," "A New Court," "Federalism," "Delegated Judicial Legislation," and "Personal Liberties." Apparently his preoccupation with the national court leads him into the common error of virtually ignoring intrastate developments. He states, for example, that the doctrine of judicial supremacy was not born until after the Civil War although "conceived in 1803 and having survived a near abortion in 1854 [*sic*]."

The title is attractive. It would seem the author thinks the relation of the United States Supreme Court to the New Deal was similar to the relation of the English courts to the government of James I. Now, as historians, we have recently been informed that Andrew Jackson was a great president because his incumbency preceded Franklin Delano Roosevelt's. Can it be that James I was a great king

because his struggle with the courts preceded by three hundred years and more President Roosevelt's court plan? In any case, the author thinks the United States Supreme Court should be: "*Sub Deo et Lege*. Right. But *sub Republica*, too. The Court's allegiance is triple not dual."

In other words, this book will probably appear to liberal dilettanti as an excellent causerie from which to lift much of the stuffing appropriate for smart conversation tinged with pragmatism. It is very evident, however, that although the author inveighs against the idolatry of the Supreme Court, he does so with the loving care of an iconodule and not with the smashing vigor of an iconoclast.

University of Michigan

WILLIAM R. LESLIE

LEWIS AND CLARK, PARTNERS IN DISCOVERY. By *John Bakeless*. (New York: William Morrow and Company. 1947. Pp. xii, 498. \$5.00.)

COLONEL Bakeless attended Carlisle Indian Industrial School, was graduated from Williams College, and received his Ph.D. degree in English from Harvard University. He is a veteran of both world wars, was a general staff officer in G2 from 1940 to 1944 and served in various other capacities in Europe until 1946. His research for the writing of this book was begun in 1939, was interrupted by the war, and the work was carried to completion after 1946, when the author was the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship which enabled him to travel widely in search of materials. The thoroughness and extent of his search are clearly revealed by six pages crowded with the names of persons to whom he acknowledges his indebtedness for assistance in numerous libraries and repositories, and their aid in tracking down information on obscure points.

The book is described on the jacket as "the first and authoritative biography of the two explorers" and there is no real reason to object to this statement. Approximately two fifths of the book is devoted to the careers of the two leaders before and after their great expedition, and incorporates considerable information not included in any previous biography.

The heart of the book, naturally, is the account of the expedition. While the general reader might consider this just another narrative of a story that has often been told, a detailed comparison with other accounts would bring to light much material that has hitherto been unused or even unknown. Whether this new material adds much that is significant depends on the reader's point of view. As might be expected, Colonel Bakeless gives considerable attention to episodes involving military discipline. He identifies the sites of some camps, but neglects to do so in other cases, which may disappoint some readers. He rejects the usual spelling, Sacajawea, for the name of the Indian woman, and uses Sacagawea, for which of course there is equally good authority; and he definitely minimizes her significance as a member of the expedition and makes only a few references to her.

An especially interesting and well-balanced chapter is that in which the author

discusses the much debated subject of the cause of Meriwether Lewis' death in 1809. He presents the evidence for both suicide and murder impartially, but it is clear that he leans to the murder theory, although he does not attempt to identify the murderer.

The book is written in a style that is clear and readable. Occasionally, however, the author runs ahead of his story and introduces persons or events that are not identified and explained until later, a practice which may at times cause temporary annoyance to the reader. His citations to sources are grouped together at the end of the book, and although the method of citation is somewhat unusual, the reader can readily refer to the sources. There are several instances, however, in which the student fails to find references to sources of information which he might desire to know. The book is remarkably free from typographical errors, and errors of fact or misleading statements are very few and found mainly in passages dealing with general history. For instance, the general reader might get an erroneous idea of Jefferson's desire to purchase "a part of Louisiana" and from the statement that Livingston was authorized to offer \$2,000,000 for it. The territory of Orleans is called the territory of New Orleans. There are a few other minor misstatements, but these in no important degree detract from the value and authenticity of the book as a whole.

*University of Oregon*

DAN E. CLARK

AMERICAN DREAMS: A STUDY OF AMERICAN UTOPIAS. By *Vernon Louis Parrington, Jr.* [Brown University Studies, Volume XI; Americana Series, No. 2.] (Providence: Brown University. 1947. Pp. 234. \$4.00.)

THE title of this book is a little misleading, for it is not at all a study of the various utopian communities—religious or socialistic or both—which form so interesting a part of American social history. It is, rather, an account of the utopian literature published or at least widely read in America from colonial days to the present time with especial emphasis upon the utopian novel. The author states that the initial impetus for the study was the unfinished third volume of his father's *Main Currents of American Thought*, in which only the work of Edward Bellamy had been considered in a section designed to cover the "Quest for Utopia."

The main part of this book deals with the numerous utopian novels of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many of them inspired by or patterned upon Bellamy. About fifty pages at the beginning are given to brief mention of earlier efforts, from John Eliot's *Christian Commonwealth* (1659) to Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* (1852). A slightly shorter section at the end of the book provides some space for the muckrakers and for a few utopian or "escape" novels of the twentieth century, with brief discussion of the novel of practical reform by legislative action, *Philip Dru* by Edward M. House, of James Hilton's *Lost Horizon*, and of Austin Tappan Wright's long and well-written *Islandia*, which missed

the popularity it merited by being published in 1942 when the war prevented digression into Utopia.

In this survey of about three centuries of American dreams every device of the architects of Utopia is recorded. James Clopper in 1819 discovered and settled a "Great Southern Continent," George Tucker in 1827 located his Utopia on the moon, using a device popular with English writers of an earlier period, and James Fenimore Cooper chose a volcanic Pacific island for *The Crater*. Other authors traveled to Mars, Atlantis, Africa, or Islandia, sailing seas and airways yet uncharted and using means of transportation that are as realistic as those of Superman. Men of the author's generation, drugged, stunned, and even "quick frozen" were—after Bellamy—roused to observation, instruction, and often conversion in a later century and a civilization where social justice had been achieved by startling and interesting reforms. A few authors were content to place their characters in contemporary America and to envisage them willing to follow "In His Steps."

Amidst all of this diversity Mr. Parrington finds some common factors, and his brief chapters of analysis and summary are valuable. Men have a right to work and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, they should not have the power to injure or oppress each other, work itself is a positive good, and men unfettered and educated will realize that fact and be glad to work well for the benefits accruing to such labor in a utopia. Progress, scientific achievement, perfectibility, desire for co-operation, and above all the power of the majority to legislate itself into Utopia, when it is aroused and instructed to that end, are all recognized as parts of the American dream.

Each utopian novel is, furthermore, an expression in that form of whatever is current in the field of American political and economic thought—bimetallism, income tax, single tax, referendum and recall, even the direct election of president and senators, are all reflected in the achieved reforms of the utopian state. In the same way, in Utopia are realized all of the scientific and mechanical ideas as yet just blueprints in the world of the author. Utopia claims the good and rejects the evil of man's achievements and is based on the assumption that man is capable of perfecting his institutions. And yet, even in the writings on Utopia, this optimism is tempered by a little of the skepticism with which Americans have regarded their own dreams.

Mr. Parrington has provided a convenient digest of these many schemes for the betterment of the human race—the bibliographical list itself is very valuable—and at the same time he has shown something of the turmoil, instability, and social unrest which lay back of these confused but idealistic utopian plans. One must confess, however, that there is still no complete explanation for the "amazing success" of even the most popular of such books, Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Charles M. Sheldon's *In His Steps*, of which some twenty-four million copies appear to have been sold! Mr. Parrington considers about forty volumes in the period between these two "best-sellers," but the question as to why they sold is not

answered in his final summary: "These utopians weren't always clear thinkers, but they did make an effort to understand their world and to re-examine it in terms of the new economics. And although they wrote fiction, some of the ideas which they suggested have had a continuing influence on American history" (pp. 180-81).

*University of Minnesota*

ALICE FELT TYLER

PRELUDE TO THE KINGDOM: MORMON DESERT CONQUEST: A CHAPTER IN AMERICAN COOPERATIVE EXPERIENCE. By *Gustive O. Larson*. (Francestown, N. H.: Marshall Jones Company. 1947. Pp. xiv, 327. \$3.50.)

THIS book reflects both the virtues and limitations usually inherent in the orthodox church member's interpretation of Mormon history. The virtue is in its comprehensiveness, for few non-Mormons would find the fortitude to unravel so much of the story of economic co-operation among the Mormons. The book begins with an account of the "Law of Consecration," the communal order set up by Joseph Smith in Missouri, and continues through the perennially dramatic story of the Mormon exodus from Illinois to Utah. It provides a particularly thorough account of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, which was so successful in bringing to Utah thousands of improvident converts, first from the misery of the Iowa encampments and later from the missions in Europe. It describes in detail the industrial and mercantile Mormon co-operatives in the Great Basin—iron, cotton, sugar, and retail merchandising—with a brief account of their disintegration or their transformation into conventional joint-stock enterprises. A concluding chapter sketches the modern Mormon Welfare Plan.

The best chapters are in the middle of the book, where the footnotes reveal considerable research into primary documents. Here is the first adequate study of the extent of Mormon missionary success in Europe in the nineteenth century, and of the complicated machinery which brought the converts from Europe to the Rocky Mountains and with a minimum of economic waste made of them productive citizens.

Mr. Larson is weakest where he describes the communistic experiments of Joseph Smith; this is holy ground, and he is content to skip over it as lightly as possible for fear of desecration. Like the earlier Mormon historians, from whom he draws almost all of his material on this period, he refuses to see that Mormon communism grew directly out of the social milieu, which was agog over the communal experiments of Robert Owen, and to a lesser extent, those of the Shakers, Rappites, and other religious sects. He ignores the fact that Joseph Smith himself renounced his own communism, first by significantly altering his "revelation" on the subject, and then by replacing it altogether with a new "law of tithing."

It is his emphasis on the uniqueness of Mormon co-operation, and his implication that the experiments sprang into being and flowered chiefly because of divine

grace, that marks the bias of the book. Mr. Larson suffers from the inability of orthodox Mormon historians to fit the Mormon story within the history of the period. He sees the church as a great power radiating light, goodness, and truth, but never absorbing anything—either for good or ill—from the outside world. His story, therefore, is necessarily one-sided. Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution, he says, was founded chiefly in defense against "the rapacity of the gentile trade"; actually he would not have to go outside Mormon source materials to discover that it was also an attempt to squeeze the gentile businessman out of Utah territory altogether. The motives for Mormon economic co-operation more often stemmed from economic pressures or aspirations than, as Mr. Larson is persuaded, from moral or spiritual exaltation.

*New Haven, Connecticut*

FAWN M. BRODIE

THE FOUNDING OF AN EMPIRE: THE EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION OF UTAH, 1776-1856. By *Leland Hargrave Creer*, Professor of American History, University of Utah. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft. 1947. Pp. xv, 454. \$5.00.)

THE scope of this volume is defined in its subtitle. The first of its two parts deals with the exploration and survey of the region which was to become the state of Utah, and the second treats of the Mormons who colonized it.

The first white men known to have visited the Great Basin were the Franciscan friar, Father Escalante, and his party, who explored the area in 1776. They were followed by Spanish slave traders, fur traders and trappers, federal explorers and surveyors, and emigrants on their way to Oregon and California. Professor Creer devotes a chapter to each of these non-Mormon groups, quoting extensively from Escalante's journal and Fremont's report, and adds an interesting chapter on early Utah forts. He does not offer much new information on the Great Basin, one of his avowed objectives being to present a synthesis of the factual history of early Utah. In spite of a prefatory statement regarding the importance of the explorers and mountain men, this reviewer feels that the space allotted to their activities is disproportionate to that devoted to the more lasting contributions of the Mormon colonizers. There are four preliminary chapters in Part II retelling the beginnings of Mormonism and describing the well-known trek to the Great Basin. The treatment of the Mormon empire in Utah is compressed into the two concluding chapters of the book. One of these chapters describes the organization and political history of the short-lived state of Deseret, and the other pictures life in the Salt Lake Valley during the middle of the nineteenth century. In this brief treatment certain important phases of Mormon life have been ignored, as for example the intense activity involved in "gathering" converts from abroad to people the kingdom of God.

Professor Creer has made considerable use of the archives of the Mormon

Church, federal publications, and material in the Bancroft Library. Parts of chapters VIII and XII, relating to the early history of Mormonism and the state of Deseret, are taken from his study *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, 1929), and the part of chapter XIII dealing with education appeared in the *Relief Society Magazine* (July, 1942).

Although *The Founding of an Empire* is apparently the product of considerable research and is amply documented, it bears evidences of hasty writing. The most obvious example of this is the following: "The start was made from Santa Fe . . . on July 29, 1776, just five days after the birth of American Independency . . ." (p. 4). Quotations are not reproduced exactly in some instances, and there are innumerable typographical errors. There is an unexplained discrepancy between the population figure of 75,000 for 1858, on page 363, and that of 40,000 for 1860, on page 339. The actual population is uncertain because of a conflict between the Mormons and the gentile census takers.

The book includes an excellent index and maps, four appendixes, and an extensive bibliography—even twentieth century poetry and fiction are included.

*Washington, D. C.*

M. HAMLIN CANNON

THE MOLDING OF AMERICAN BANKING: MEN AND IDEAS. Part I, 1781-1840. By Fritz Redlich. [History of American Business Leaders, Vol. II.] (New York: Hafner Publishing Company. 1947. Pp. ix, 334. \$5.00.)

THE author of this study has been interested, through some fifteen years, in the personal element in economic development, and has prepared three books in the field, all of which have appeared in lithoprint form. His *Essays in American Economic History: Eric Bollman and Studies in Banking* came out in 1944. The first of his business leader studies was *Theory: Iron and Steel: Iron Ore Mining* (1940). The second study in that series is projected to appear in two parts, of which *The Molding of American Banking* is Part I. Part II is in preparation, but work on the series beyond that point will not be forthcoming, because the author's interest has shifted to a related field.

This book contains little that is new in the factual field, for the author is primarily concerned with interpretative synthesis; therefore this review is concerned with the interpretation. The basis of Mr. Redlich's thinking is explained in the appendix to his *Essays in American Economic History*. He rejects determinism and blind, anonymous forces in history, disbelieving in any economic laws, static or dynamic. But he does not accept the "great man" theory in extreme form. Rather, he recognizes human beings as the determinants of the course of history, and ideas as the driving force back of their actions.

His view has broadened with his writing. In his volume on leaders in mining, he discussed at length the theory of the entrepreneur and focused his attention upon him; but when he explored bankers he found their trade so much influenced



by state and national governments and by conditions in the social structure that he had to expand the types of persons he would integrate in his narrative. So, he here includes with banking leaders men in public life and originators of ideas, insofar as they influenced banking development. This inclusion distinguishes his scope from that of Miller's general history of banking ideas. Redlich notes also that ideas are usually no longer new by the time they have propulsive force; like Fetter and Rathenau he realizes that economic doctrines appear and reappear in changing settings.

The contribution made by leaders grows from the circulation of thought among them, and consists of such alteration in the existing setup as is permitted by the range of possibilities, with creative men building upon their predecessors *ad infinitum*. In sum, Redlich sees economic development as the work of individuals who themselves are social products working through the milieu; the individual and social process are of equal influence in economic development. This being his approach, Redlich has aimed to advance the understanding of banking as a social reality, rather than to contribute much new information of a factual character. Understanding requires of the historian, he says, (1) seeing an event in its contemporaneous setting, and (2) placing it rightly in perspective; only thus can historians learn the origin and influence of significant factors.

The 230 pages of text are armored with seventy-three additional pages of notes and thirty of bibliography, the latter secondary where referring to statements of fact, primary on the interpretative side. Writers in the general field of American history are probably more familiar with this type of approach than Mr. Redlich's preachments would imply that he realizes. His interpretative synthesis is not without interest, however, and merits wider circulation than the medium of its publication is likely to bring it.

*Swarthmore, Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

STEVENS THOMSON MASON, MISUNDERSTOOD PATRIOT. By *Kent Sagendorph*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1947. Pp. 447. \$4.75.)

STEVENS Thomson Mason (1811-1843), a scion of the Virginia family of that name, was the most conspicuous figure in the transition from territorial to state government in Michigan. In 1830, when he was only nineteen years of age, he was appointed secretary of the territory by President Jackson in succession to his father. Despite the widespread indignation over this flagrant piece of nepotism, Mason soon conquered public opinion, put himself at the head of the movement for statehood, prosecuted the boundary dispute with Ohio so vigorously that Jackson was compelled to dismiss him from office, organized a *de facto* state government, and was elected the first governor of the state when it secured congressional recognition. His administration splurged in canals, railroads, education, and a \$5,000,000 bond issue until the panic of 1837 brought it into difficulties. In 1840,

thoroughly discredited, Mason retired from the governorship, moved to New York, and shortly died.

The rehabilitation of Mason's reputation was achieved by the research and enthusiastic propaganda of the late Lawton T. Hemans, to whom Mr. Sagendorph pays just and generous tribute. Mason is now generally recognized as an able and enlightened politician, whose eclipse was due more to untoward circumstances than to his own mistakes. Mr. Sagendorph's book is genuine biography, not a mere political chronicle; it presents a full and pleasing picture of the man and his times. Unluckily, this is the sort of biography that, in an all too familiar phrase, "must be used with caution." In his search for materials the author has cast his net widely, and his bibliography extends to eight pages, but he has omitted all detailed documentation. This is unfortunate, for an alert reader will wonder rather frequently about the basis for Mr. Sagendorph's confident narrative. Furthermore, in his ardent championship of Mason, he cares little what happens to other people. William Woodbridge, Mason's Whig opponent, is handled so roughly that the procedure can be excused only as a reaction to the fulsome treatment accorded him elsewhere, as, for example, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Asa Gray, whose brief connection with the University of Michigan brings him into the story, gets a paragraph of misstatement and calumny. The author is completely at home in Michigan, but his understanding of the national background appears to be sketchy. Mr. Sagendorph's biography will be useful; but if he had paid as conscientious attention to presentation as he did to investigation, his work would have been worth more than this faint praise.

*University of Massachusetts, Fort Devens*

GEORGE GENZMER

ORDEAL OF THE UNION. Volume I, FRUITS OF MANIFEST DESTINY, 1847-1852; Volume II, A HOUSE DIVIDING, 1852-1857. By *Allan Nevins*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1947. Pp. xiv, 593; viii, 590. \$10.00.)

THESE two large volumes, in many ways the best ever to have issued from Professor Nevins' prolific pen, are a magnificent achievement. They cover in extraordinary detail a single decade, from the closing scenes of the war with Mexico to the troubled months that followed the election of Buchanan. Like a slow-motion moving-picture, they enable the observer to note much that he had missed before. The scenario is not changed, the characters and the climaxes are all the same, but much is now plain that had been blurred before, while some things that we had thought we saw simply do not appear at all.

To complete this picture Nevins and his various helpers have combed an incredible variety of sources. They have used dozens of newspapers, scores of manuscript collections, and hundreds of special works. They have re-searched the *Congressional Record* and other public documents, both national and state. They have also focused on themes not always included in the works of such pre-

cursors as Rhodes, Schouler, and Von Holst, or even McMaster. The daily life of the people, their thoughts and prejudices at their best and at their worst, the nature of the culture they achieved, all these things are as competently unearthed as the more familiar facts of political and economic development.

Like nearly all recent historians, Nevins hoped to integrate his social history with the rest of his work, but in this ambition he has not been wholly successful. His social and cultural sections are for the most part interlarded, the way we all do it, rather than integrated with the rest. After all, even the most skillful of historians can write about only one thing at a time.

Possibly the best way in which to make clear the character of Nevins' contribution is to observe how he deals with a few well-known subjects. For this purpose his handling of the institution of slavery, the leadership of the antislavery movement, and the Kansas-Nebraska controversy will suffice. In each case he reviews the evidence in unhurried fashion, then minces no words in stating his conclusions.

The institution of slavery gets no whitewash whatever. One suspects that Nevins is thoroughly weary of appeasing the tender susceptibilities of the overzealous defenders of the Old South. He even seems at times closer to Harriet Beecher Stowe than to Ulrich B. Phillips. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, he insists, "did not overstate the case against slavery, which was capable of all the abuses and cruelties" the book depicted. Rather, Mrs. Stowe's trouble was that she idealized the Negroes, instead of portraying them as they really were, "black folk struggling with many a slip out of barbarism into civilization" (I, 409). Nevins notes significantly the everchanging aspects of slavery. "From decade to decade, from State to State, it underwent vital alterations, growing, shifting, decaying" (I, 413). But wherever found, and in whatever stage, it was evil, "the greatest misery, the greatest wrong, the greatest curse to white and black alike that America has ever known" (I, 461).

On the leadership of the antislavery movement, he gives far greater credit to the achievements of Theodore D. Weld and his collaborators than to "Garrisonism." He contrasts Weld's "modest and almost anonymous work," and the "idealism, courage, and insight" with which he and his associates fought their battles (I, 142), with the "arid, colorless, and narrow mind" of Garrison (I, 144). "Nothing could be more unhistorical than the New England myth that Garrison was the soul of the whole cause, the inspiration of the great plea, the man whose insight revealed the way, whose courage tempered the weapon, and whose conviction drove home the steel. The true leadership of the antislavery movement lay in great part elsewhere" (I, 147).

On the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act Nevins rejects as insufficient both the contemporary charge against Douglas of ruthless ambition and the more recent theories of Hodder and Ray. "Men's motives," he argues, "are seldom simple, seldom completely logical, and seldom quite clear even to themselves" (II, 105-106). Conceding that Douglas was ambitious, that he could not have been unaware of the exigencies of Missouri politics, and that he knew as well as anyone

the need of a land-grant railroad route to the Pacific, Nevins notes the Illinois senator's pride in the solution he had helped devise for the New Mexico-Utah difficulty in 1850, his eagerness "to clear the way for the operation of natural forces in the Nebraska country," his passion for organizing the West into territories, and his desire to rescue Pierce's foundering administration by some bold stroke. "Thus a whole broad complex of reasons, half-reasons, and quarter-reasons reinforced his first impulsiveness" (II, 106).

In writing these two volumes, and their probable sequels, Nevins has an eye on the twentieth century no less than the nineteenth. Only twice in our national history has war of overwhelming proportions been our lot, once in the 1860's and again in the 1940's. In each instance, he argues, the calamity came through the failure of statesmanship, the first time, failure in "solving the problems of slavery" and "sectional irritation," the second time, failure "to play a manly, far-sighted part in the world community" (I, viii). And with an eye to the future, Nevins insists that the grave lessons of these failures must now be driven home.

*University of California*

JOHN D. HICKS

PORTRAIT FOR POSTERITY: LINCOLN AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS. By  
*Benjamin P. Thomas*. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1947. Pp.  
xvii, 329. \$3.00.)

THIS much needed book is primarily an account of the manner in which the portrait of Abraham Lincoln has been drawn by his numerous biographers. Incidentally it furnishes interesting information about the biographers themselves—their careers and characters, their aims and points of view, their methods of investigation and of writing, and their relations with each other. The role of each of the more important biographers in the development of the portrait is carefully marked out.

While less important biographers are not altogether neglected, attention is concentrated chiefly upon Lamon and his ghost writer, Chauncey Black, Nicolay and Hay, Weik and Herndon, Ida Tarbell, Barton, Beveridge, and Sandburg. For these writers there are accounts in considerable detail as to how they came to write about Lincoln, description of the manner in which they gathered their material, discussion about their merits and shortcomings, and an attempt to appraise the quality of their productions. In each instance, except possibly that of Barton, the treatment seems to the reviewer candid, fair, and sagacious. The portion which deals with William H. Herndon is a distinct contribution toward a proper estimate of the man and his part in the formation of the Lincoln portrait.

A distinguishing feature of the book is its extensive use of the correspondence carried on by the Lincoln biographers. For nearly all of them the author has had access to numerous letters, most of them hitherto unpublished or if published not easily accessible. Good use has been made of this material. Book reviews which

appeared in leading newspapers and periodicals shortly after the publication of the biographies have also been employed, but not so successfully. More attention to the authorship of the reviews and the character of the publications in which they appeared would have enabled the reader to assess their value.

There is a bibliography, but no other documentation. While the absence of citations may appear to many readers of this *Review* as a serious defect, the reviewer is not of that opinion. He believes that in many instances the nature of the evidence relied upon can be so clearly indicated in the text that citations become superfluous. Where the citations are omitted, however, an author should be particularly careful to supply the equivalent data in the text as far as possible. In this instance the author has not always supplied that information.

The book is an attempt to combine extensive and sound historical research with a literary style and a format calculated to appeal both to the general reader and the scholar. As such it must be pronounced a distinct success. More such books are urgently needed.

Dartmouth College

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON

THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF HENRY WILLIAM RAVENEL, 1859-1887.

Edited by *Arney Robinson Childs*, Professor of History in the University of South Carolina. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1947. Pp. xxi, 428. \$6.00.)

THIS diary is an important historical contribution. Its author, who was born in South Carolina and lived there until his death in 1887, was a planter and also an eminent botanist. Professionally and personally, chiefly through correspondence, he was on intimate terms with such scientists in America and abroad as Gray, Torrey, Chapman, Tuckerman, Curtis, Lesguereux, Nylander, Berkeley, Fries, Montague, Sullivant, and Englemann. He was, too, an author of distinguished reputation. His best known work is found in his extensive *Fungi Caroliniani Exsiccati*, the first published series of named American fungi, and his *Fungi Americani Exsiccati*, prepared with M. M. Cooke of London. He also published articles in various periodicals, many of them of practical as well as scientific importance.

Naturally, much of the interest of his journal lies in its account of tireless research and experiments in botany, horticulture, and agriculture, but historically the diary has even greater value and interest. This is to be found in its social and economic information, the light thrown on slavery, on experiments in the development of orchards and vineyards, and on a way of life.

Its importance is increased by its period. From the rise of the secession movement to a date well past the close of Reconstruction, Ravenel watched with eager interest what was going on in state and nation. His profuse comments reflect clearly events of the period and their impact upon him and upon public opinion, which, it may be remarked, were not always in agreement. Its accounts of the

hopes and fears of the war years, privations endured, the coming of the invading army, the downfall of the Confederacy, and the horror felt at ruthless destruction of property and the violence of Negro troops, are vivid and clearly authentic.

He was a regretful secessionist but threw his heart into the war. He accepted its results courageously and in good faith and concluded that emancipation was entirely right. Always a friend of the Negroes, he bears testimony to their general good behavior until they came under the leadership of evil men, and he found joy in the fact that most of those he had owned wished to continue with him. He favored suffrage for the few qualified, and hoped for the speedy education of the freedmen for their new responsibilities. But, as was to be expected, he hated the Radical program of reconstruction and all its works, and gives a graphic view of its results in South Carolina. The journal reflects the high character and fine aims of the cultivated gentleman who wrote it, and also the courage and fortitude with which he met privation and suffering. To a student of the place or period, the volume is keenly interesting.

The book is admirably edited, with excellent preface and biographical sketch, numerous and informative notes, a bibliography, and a list of biographical references to Dr. Ravenel.

*University of North Carolina*

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON

AMERICAN MEDICAL RESEARCH PAST AND PRESENT. By *Richard H. Shryock*. (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1947. Pp. xiv, 350. \$2.50.)

BEFORE the American Revolution and until about 1820 the dominating influence in American medicine came from Britain. This period was followed by about forty years during which the French emphasis on clinical studies and pathologic anatomy made France the prime focus of American medical interest. After the Civil War it was German science that took the center of the stage, and young American doctors flocked to Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, etc., for postgraduate training. One of these was William H. Welch, a recent graduate of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. Arriving in Germany in 1876, he was "amazed by the panorama of research facilities" and "appalled by the contrasts" in his homeland. "The condition of American medical education was 'simply horrible' and there seemed to be no prospects for improvement."

How the improvement was brought about is the main theme of this book. The impact of German research on the eager mind of 26-year-old William H. Welch is reported by Dr. Shryock on page 62, and the nearly three hundred pages which follow are devoted to the fourth phase of American medicine. This fourth phase is, of course, that in which we are now living. It began with the organization of the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, an undertaking in which Dr. Welch had a leading part. During this period American medicine matured,

emerged to a level of cultural independence, and became an innovator, a standard-raiser, a leader in its own right.

Dr. Shryock's book is one of a series of monographs written at the request of the New York Academy of Medicine in connection with its current survey of the relation of medicine to the changing social order. The idea was to show the reciprocal effects of medicine and the technological, social, economic, and political changes that have taken place in American life. This purpose has been fulfilled to an admirable degree. Primarily, the book is a review of the development of medical research in the United States, from its feeble sporadic beginnings in the colonial period to the present age of world-famous institutes and incomparable centers for clinical research. But along with the story of medicine, the author presents the setting of its development: the progress of the sciences during the period, the background of educational evolution, and the bearing of economic, social, and cultural trends on the growth of American medicine. The "angelic conjunction" between wealth and science is duly recorded, and the present movement toward increased government support is reviewed. There is very little expression of opinion on moot points, or argument of controversial issues. The book is strictly factual, an invaluable historical summary.

*New York City*

GEORGE W. GRAY

ARSENALS OF A DEMOCRATIC CULTURE: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PUBLIC LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND AND THE MIDDLE STATES FROM 1859 TO 1900. By *Sidney Ditzion*. Foreword by Merle Curti, University of Wisconsin. (Chicago: American Library Association. 1947. Pp. xiii, 263. \$3.00.)

It is the subtitle that defines the scope and suggests the content of this volume. Even this, however, does not indicate fully the real character of the book. There have been other histories of the public library in this country, but it is not so much the historical facts as the method by which they have been assembled and integrated that gives Dr. Ditzion's work a special place. Earlier studies have tended to stress book collections, biographical materials relating to librarians and patrons, techniques of library administration, organization, functions, and similar topics. Dr. Ditzion is thoroughly familiar with such materials and yet for him they constitute only a background. His primary concern is with the social context in which public libraries developed during the second half of the nineteenth century. He traces in detail the emergence and elaboration of "the public library idea" and analyzes fully the many forces that converged to make the public library the institution it has come to be. The book is, as Merle Curti states in his foreword, a study in cultural history in which the methods of the historian and the sociologist have been fused. It is this that gives the study its significance.

In a basic chapter on "Cultural Foundations," Dr. Ditzion establishes the role



of the new urbanism in providing the setting for the library movement. Given this mid-century urban movement, with the rise of a new social class and concomitant new social problems, the situation was such that the library idea was naturally propounded and not unreadily accepted. The vigor of intellectual leadership, coupled with growing realization that democracy as well as industrial growth called for an informed citizenship, provided the impetus that was to transform the American library from a private and limited enterprise into a dynamic educational force.

As Dr. Ditzion clearly shows in the materials he has assembled, the growth of the American library was not the result of a single or unitary ideology working itself out in a simple evolution. Rather there were innumerable forces intertwining to give the movement its momentum. The library idea was accepted by various social interests for quite different, and sometimes even opposite reasons, yet they were fused into a common end result. His analysis of this multiple motivation is painstakingly worked out and should interest the social scientist as a study in method and interpretation, as well as professional librarians for whom the specific factual content will have additional pertinence.

The body of the book is devoted to systematic treatment of the social limitations, as well as to the values and purposes of various groups in the population, that have bearing upon the library movement, with constant attention given to their causal interrelationships.

It is interesting that this book appears just as there is being launched a public library inquiry, directed by Dr. Robert Leigh and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council with Carnegie Corporation support. The same sociological approach that characterizes Dr. Ditzion's careful scholarship underlies the approach in the much more comprehensive S.S.R.C. survey. Both studies demonstrate the methodological advances that the social sciences are making in the analysis of social institutions.

*University of Minnesota*

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

ALEXANDER DALLAS BACHE: SCIENTIST AND EDUCATOR, 1806-1867. By *Merle M. Odgers*. [Pennsylvania Lives.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1947. Pp. vii, 223. \$2.75.)

ALEXANDER Dallas Bache, great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, was one of the most outstanding men of his day, a key figure in the intellectual development of America at a time when many of our educational and scientific institutions were becoming established. This very readable biographical study, by the president of Girard College, not only illuminates the life of this distinguished man but also demonstrates the richness there is for the historian in the field of the history of science.

Bache's first career was as a teacher and educator. Scientifically trained at West Point, he became professor of natural philosophy and chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania at the precocious age of twenty-two. Eight years later, in 1836, he was made president of the newborn and unique Girard College in Philadelphia and was sent abroad to make a survey of European educational methods. On his return he wrote an analytical report on his findings, which became an influential document. Before Girard College really got under way, however, Bache accepted the headship of the Central High School of Philadelphia, which was just being opened. This was the first public high school in America outside the New England states, and Bache saw an opportunity to put into immediate practice some of his ideas on education. A little later he was superintendent of the city schools in Philadelphia, and still later he returned to his chair at the university. In all these posts he served with distinction and made definite contributions, though he did not remain long in any of them.

The truth was that Bache's underlying scientific interests and abilities were asserting themselves. He had already done considerable research in the field of magnetism and had established at Girard College the first magnetic observatory in North America. He presented papers on his work before leading scientific societies and built up a solid reputation. Then, in 1843, still under forty, he was appointed superintendent of the United States Coast Survey in Washington. Here he served until his early death in 1861 and attained real pre-eminence as a scientist and research director. He gave form and direction to that pioneer government scientific agency, which through the years has made many fundamental contributions to astronomy, geodesy, terrestrial magnetism, and hydrography. Remarkable too were Bache's wide and indefatigable interests. He dwelt in no ivory tower of science but participated in all the current scientific activities: He served as secretary, vice-president, and president of the American Philosophical Society; was a member of the board of managers and later a corresponding secretary of the Franklin Institute; helped to organize the National Academy of Sciences; was a regent of the Smithsonian Institution, headed by his friend Joseph Henry; served two years as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; and belonged to various other societies, including the Royal Society of London.

In other words, Bache was, like his famous ancestor, a moving and vital spirit in the scientific life of his age. Professor Odgers makes his readers feel this vitality. Furthermore, he has succeeded in keeping the spotlight well focused on his subject and has written an entirely adequate biography though neither voluminous nor exhaustive. The temptation to divagate must have been great, for science was then, as it is today, excitedly moving ahead on all fronts, and Dallas Bache was one of its prime movers.

*Washington, D. C.*

PAUL H. OEHSER

WIRING A CONTINENT: THE HISTORY OF THE TELEGRAPH INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1832-1866. By *Robert Luther Thompson*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1947. Pp. xviii, 544. \$7.50.)

THIS is the history of a technical innovation and of the process of promoting it into a nationwide industry. Dr. Thompson's treatment of the subject is distinguished both for its high level of historical scholarship and its considerable literary skill. Fashioned from a wealth of manuscript materials left by key figures in early telegraph history, the book portrays in a lively manner the bright and seamy aspects of telegraph development, without resort either to muckraking or whitewashing. As such it is a welcome addition to the meager literature in the field of telecommunications history, as well as a contribution to the broader field of American industrial history.

The story of the telegraph as told by Dr. Thompson furnishes material on many topics of interest to students of economic history. Those concerned with the role of government in economic life will note the leadership of Congress in financing the first intercity line, thereby establishing the practicability of telegraphic communication, the efforts of Morse and most of his associated patentees to place the telegraph under public auspices, and the considerations which led Congress to permit the telegraph to operate as a private enterprise.

Students of industrial finance will follow with interest the author's account of the reluctance of private capital to invest in the innovation during the early decades of telegraph development, the various expedients used to attract financial backing, and the extent to which ratepayers financed the industry. Those interested in the process of business consolidations will find abundant material in the detailed presentation by the author of the launching of dozens of small companies, the circumstances leading to the gradual emergence of a loose federation of six major carriers, the dissolution of the federation, and the subsequent domination exercised by a single nation-wide firm, the Western Union Telegraph Company. Students of the role of the entrepreneur will be interested in the contrasting careers of Henry O'Reilly and Hiram Sibley, both men of ability and vision, and their respective contributions to the building of the industry.

The criticisms that may be made of the study are mainly in its omissions. The economist will feel the need for an integrated economic framework and for more data, statistical and interpretative, on service, rates, traffic, capital structure, financial practices, and operating characteristics. The author indicates the impact of the telegraph on the newspaper and railroad industries, but omits consideration of its effects on mercantile, financial, and other industries, as well as its relation to location and size of industrial operation. The social historian, on the other hand, will be disappointed in the superficiality of the author's treatment of the impact of the telegraph on American social and political life. But this is only to say that every study is a starting point of another study.

Dr. Thompson is to be commended for his well-organized, scholarly, and readable history. The Princeton University Press also is to be commended for the excellence of the book's format, including its jacket, maps, diagrams, and other illustrations. Particular attention is called to the fifteen appendixes, mainly copies of business contracts, which provide an illuminating insight into the intra- and inter-corporate relationships of the telegraph industry.

*Washington, D. C.*

H. H. GOLDIN

SAGA IN STEEL AND CONCRETE: NORWEGIAN ENGINEERS IN AMERICA. By *Kenneth Bjork*, Professor of History at St. Olaf College. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1947. Pp. vii, 504. \$4.00.)

FOR the past quarter century numerous articles and a few books have been written dealing with the "Transit of Civilization" from the Old World to the New World. Interesting though they are, they have been woefully weak in one respect, namely, in the almost complete omission of the transit of scientists, engineers, and technologists. Mr. Bjork is determined to plug this gap, at least for the Norwegians. Here is a roll call of many outstanding individuals who, after being educated in the technical schools of Norway, migrated to the United States, and after arriving here helped in the dramatic development of building our bridges, tunnels, skyscrapers, machines—perfecting chemical processes and industrial techniques that have shaped the life of this New World. The period of greatest migration covers the half century 1879-1929.

This study begins with the Industrial Revolution—a period when the machine was substituted for human labor. The Industrial Revolution occurred in Norway about the middle of the nineteenth century. It stimulated a desire for increased technical education. Technical schools sprang up rapidly. After graduating from these schools, the highly trained, specialized engineers of Norway migrated to this country; during the last half of the nineteenth century as many as one fourth, Mr. Bjork estimates, came to the United States. Some years as many as fifty to sixty per cent came. The United States "drew the young engineers from Europe as a magnet attracts steel" (p. 35).

A roll call of some of the more distinguished Norwegian technical leaders includes: Severin Christian Anker Holth, who introduced the principle of the caterpillar on our tractors; Julius Aars Dyblie, noted for his work in the production of steel and steel structure design; Leonard Holmboe, pioneer in steel technology; Edwin Ruud, inventor of automatic gas water heater and other household devices; Tinius Olsen, noted for his famous testing machines; Mauritz C. Indahl, a modern Gutenberg noted for his monotype machine. Included in the list of distinguished engineers who helped design and build our tunnels are the names of Olaf Hoff, Ole Singstad, Sverre Dahm, and others. Those who helped build our skyscrapers

include Joachim G. Giaver, Gunvald Aus, Kort Berle, Magnus Gunderson, and others. Metallurgists like E. A. Cappelen Smith, Anton M. Grønningsaeter, Haakon Styri, Axel G. H. Andersen, and others have played significant roles in our nation's industrial history. In the field of electricity, the name of Anders H. Bull heads the list. And so the roll call continues—in engineering, shipbuilding, machine building, architecture, chemistry, and other technical fields.

The final chapter presents a penetrating appraisal of Thorstein B. Veblen's socio-economic philosophy. Historians, economists, and engineers may read with profit this stimulating summary.

*University of Pittsburgh*

JOHN W. OLIVER

PROSPERITY DECADE: FROM WAR TO DEPRESSION, 1917-1929. By *George Soule*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume VIII.] (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1947. Pp. xiv, 365. \$4.00.)

DEPRESSION DECADE: FROM NEW ERA THROUGH NEW DEAL, 1929-1941. By *Broadus Mitchell*. [The Economic History of the United States, Volume IX.] (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1947. Pp. xviii, 462. \$4.00.)

As often happens in co-operative works, the last act rings down the curtain before the earlier ones have been staged. The present volumes follow the formula. Preceded only by Shannon's work on agriculture's last frontier, these two books conclude a projected nine-volume series on the economic history of the United States. Their simultaneous publication at least gives an opportunity to learn what two writers conceive as the economic history of the nation in the twentieth century. Upon one point they are agreed. It is impossible to distinguish between economic and political history. Enactments of Congress, messages from presidents, and policy decisions by administrative agencies crowd private enterprise off the pages. Even in the illustrations, pictures of politicians down to the last campaign smile outnumber business and labor leaders at least two to one. Clearly until the practitioners of social and cultural history succeed in staking out a more generally recognized claim for their subject matters, the casual reader of these volumes will conclude that recent history *is* economic history.

Though their practice may establish this general identity, Messrs. Soule and Mitchell come to no comparable agreement as to the details proper for an economic history. Perhaps the explanation is the difference in the periods treated. More likely it is the difference in the authors' interests. Whether dealing with affairs of war or peace, Mr. Soule describes the functioning of American economy largely in terms of statistical aggregates—national income and its division, national output and capital formation, prices and profits. He provides also enough economic analysis and speculation to explain the ebb and flow of these mathematical data. As an epitome of his method the last chapter summarizes the "new era" of the Republican heyday in six pages of figures arranged in seven columns. This ap-

proach would be impossible without the growing stress upon statistical data or, more specifically, without the work of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Meanwhile Mr. Soule's volume provides the facts which the professional economist, social engineer, bureau chief, or the operator of a planned economy would both relish and require. Since such disembodied material does not make for a readable volume, *Prosperity Decade* will hardly appeal to the lay reader at whom the series is in part directed. This is a pity. For on the few occasions when he comes out from behind his figures, Mr. Soule writes with vividness and spirit.

*Depression Decade*, nearly a hundred pages longer than its companion, demonstrates how outmoded is the old observation, "short and simple are the annals of the poor." Mr. Mitchell approaches his necessarily complicated material from the candid viewpoint of the humanitarian and democratic socialist. Paradoxically the result is not an overtly doctrinaire treatment. Indeed his intellectual pedestal is so remote from the men and events he describes as to give him a measure of detachment. One happy result is a refreshing revaluation of Herbert Hoover. Mitchell—and Soule for that matter—dispels the grosser myths which clustered in the thirties about the great engineer. His treatment of Roosevelt as a leader with the "Tory tolerance for change" in discerning. Though occasionally I get the impression the volume was written in haste, it is more distinguished for its appealing gusto, its ironic wit, and its eloquence, directed now in scorn upon the Roosevelt policy of agricultural scarcity and now in praise of the "social resurrection" of the TVA. But neither his *élan* nor the movement of his style can conceal the tragic moral he draws from the Roosevelt experiment: only war can make our present economy function. Mr. Mitchell does not quite take the next step of asserting Roosevelt "planned it that way." But the frequency with which he recurs to the theme and his fragmentary treatment of the diplomatic background of World War II pushes the poles of coincidence so close that the spark of inference is bound to jump across. Whether or not these final propositions can be now established, readers and historians who have regarded the Roosevelt administration as the end product of the historical process in America, as "the last of life for which the first was made," can hardly emerge from a perusal of the whole record, as here set forth, unshaken.

Bowdoin College

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND

F.D.R., HIS PERSONAL LETTERS: EARLY YEARS. Edited by *Elliott Roosevelt*. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1947. Pp. xvi, 543. \$5.00.)

For years to come writers of history will be asking, What manner of man was this Roosevelt? How did he become so? These boyhood letters of F.D.R. do not answer the questions, but whet still more sharply the curiosity of the inquirer.

The letters begin in 1887, from the little boy of five to his mother, and continue through school days at Groton and college years at Harvard, to 1904. Unfor-

tunately for the student of history F.D.R.'s mother took up residence in Boston during two winters of his Harvard course; hence the scarcity of correspondence of these years. With few exceptions the letters are addressed to "My dearest Mama and Papa" and later, after his father's death in 1900, to "Dearest Mama." The fact that these letters exist, including apparently every letter written by F.D.R. to his parents through boyhood and young manhood, reveals not only an intense mother-devotion, but also a strong sense of family which ramified from the parents to the cousins and the aunts and widely extended connections. The boy Roosevelt accepted the family and liked it. In fact he liked everything. He liked Sunday sermons; he liked his teachers, most of them; and he liked old Mrs. Freeman, the eighty-year-old Negro woman for whom he did chores as part of his voluntary social service at school. He had many interests, boats and stamps and the scientific papers which his father sent to him; and at Harvard he showed marked interest in history and in politics and public affairs. Even in his school days he entered with enthusiasm debates on public questions. In 1900 he was warmly sympathetic with the Boers in the South African War and wrote with assurance to his father, who must have differed, "I am sure you will feel this if you only read up the Boer case."

As the reader finishes these letters, his strongest impressions of the boy writer are, first, his warmth of affection for his extensive family circle; and second, his balance of character. From the circumstances of his boyhood he should have been no more than a spoiled darling, but somehow there was discipline and self-control. At school he comfortably accepted routine. He always studied his lessons and maintained a suitable standard of bodily and mental activity. At Harvard as at Groton he held good place, but was never "tops," in athletics, in election to office, or in scholarship rank—a good B rather than A in classification, but steady, not erratic nor temperamental.

The letters are well edited, honestly given as written, with no concealment so far as the reader can detect. The explanatory notes are helpful with only a few unimportant inaccuracies. As the letters of a schoolboy they are not particularly interesting. There is some slight playfulness but little wit or originality. It is easy to see why the boy Franklin generally received only C grade in English composition at Groton. The letters thus far published give scant evidence of the broad human sympathy which later characterized F.D.R. When the Groton football team plays a public school team F.D.R. writes of them as "a lot of toughs." There was a long way to go from the Groton schoolboy to the man of 1932. The student of history will eagerly await the later volumes of *F.D.R., His Personal Letters*.

*Vassar College*

C. MILDRED THOMPSON

THE RISE OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN EMPIRE. By *Salvador de Madariaga*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1947. Pp. xix, 408. \$5.00.)

THE Spanish engineer, publicist, and author Salvador de Madariaga explains that the volume under review constitutes the first part of a work of which the



second part, on the fall of the Spanish Empire, will soon be published. In his prologue he tells the old story of Bolívar's ascent of the Aventine Mount where he swore that he would cut the bonds which tied the Indies to Spain. Madariaga describes conditions in the motherland during the age of discovery and conquest. He discusses the transit of Spanish men, manners, and institutions to America but pays very little attention to the aborigines. He does not even mention the notable works of Beuchat, Morley, Vaillant, and Weisse concerning Indian civilizations. He has combed the accounts of visitors to the Spanish Indies in order to secure material concerning the flourishing condition of the Spanish colonies as well as to cast into relief reprehensible practices existing in the colonial establishments of other powers. In particular, he has made a useful contribution by his description of the adaptation of Spanish law and custom to the New World. With regard to the development of the civil and the ecclesiastical administration of Spanish America, however, his narrative is deficient.

Madariaga indulges in digressions which sometimes deal critically with the colonial policies of other nations than Spain, but which add color and piquancy to the story. His book abounds in brilliant generalizations which are not always sound. He holds that anarchy is "the natural state of the Spaniard." In consequence, the Spaniards lived "in the Indies like fish in water." More acceptable to American scholars is his view that the laws of the Indies "have deservedly received the highest praise from all students of colonial life." Rightly does he declare that the effect of those laws depended "on the local official or subject, whom distance made almost omnipotent."

The author has used a variety of sources and secondary accounts which he cites in a curiously abbreviated fashion. His bibliography provokes many queries. He has examined the reports of English visitors to the Indies more thoroughly perhaps than the narratives of other travelers. In both the text and the "notes" he has expressed his opinion freely about historical writers of non-Spanish nations who have dealt with the activities of his countrymen in the New World. Of José Toribio Medina, the historian and great bibliographer of Chile, Madariaga states that "though not very intelligent," he is "most conscientious." He calls Clement R. Markham's description of an *auto-de-fé* "the kind of solemn nonsense which still passes for History." Henry C. Lea he judges to be "hopelessly biased [*sic*]." After quoting from another American writer, who had mistakenly lamented the lack of literary attainments by Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, he says that "the anti-Spanish superstition dies hard in the Anglo-Saxon world." He declares that "the wholesale historical distortion of four centuries of biased History have concentrated on the cruelty of the Inquisition, which, given the age, was no special feature at all, to the neglect of its true vice—corruption."

The distinguished champion of the conquistadors has toned down "the Spanish villain" of the drama. He conveys the impression in numerous pages, however,

that his work was composed rather to confute those writers who in his opinion have maligned the Spaniards than to present a complete survey of the rise of the Spanish Empire in America. This tantalizing book is accordingly the latest addition to the literature of the controversy which has been waged ever since Bartolomé de las Casas gave origin to the Black Legend in a treatise entitled *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*.

University of Illinois

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

JUAREZ AND HIS MEXICO: A BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY. Two volumes.

By *Ralph Roeder*. (New York: Viking Press. 1947. Pp. 380, 383-763.)

THIS competent and scholarly biography, probably the most definitive work on Mexico ever written in English, has many of the austere and massive qualities of the Indian genius the book portrays. Roeder imposed upon himself a monumental task: to cover a span of history that begins just before the outbreak of the Mexican struggle for independence and carries on to 1872, with an epilogue to the reform administration of Lázaro Cárdenas in the thirties of this century—a canvas that stretches over all Mexico, from the obscure Indian village in the Oaxaca mountains where Juárez was born to the court of Maximilian and the halls of the restored Republic. It is a complicated era to portray and one that calls for intimate knowledge of the politics and most dramatic episodes on the continent of Europe.

Thus in most of the book the great political and social and military events of the period seem almost to engulf and blur the famous central figure who provides the unity for Roeder's tour de force. He builds up details patiently in a manner that sometimes seems to block the progress of his story, but in the end this careful stone-by-stone construction results in a noble edifice which gives the reader a rounded comprehension of Juárez with all his aims and accomplishments. Likewise it provides us with an understanding of the great moving historical forces of our epoch, not only in Mexico but in all Western civilization. In the power to weave together so many tangled strands into a coherent, lucid, and dynamic pattern, few historians can match this author.

The plane of *Alt-Politik* he largely maintains does impose some limitations: a lack at times of intimate and dramatic scenes. His description of San Pablo Guelatao, the birthplace of Juárez, and the surrounding region, with which he opens the book, is a masterpiece of elegant and poetic prose, yet somehow San Pablo might be almost any village in Europe. The reader does not sense the color, the smells, the sweat, the texture of the land, nor does he quite grasp here the deep racial implications or certain peculiarities of Mexican and Indian psychology.

The author could well have provided us with the exact provisions of the great anticlerical and church property laws, since the whole work hinges upon this

point. He could well have provided here some vivid close-ups of the application of those laws in the countryside.

He has, however, given us a most detailed account of the famous constituent convention of 1857. Here he has leaned heavily on the painstaking and monumental record by Francisco Zarco. That convention was a most dramatic reunion, the very keynote of the whole era. The most colorful and outstanding personalities of the land measured swords there, and Roeder could well have given us their portraits together with the fever of the scene and the dramatic highlights instead of reproducing merely the speeches and ideas, chiefly of the reformists. But the great sweep and talent of this book and the over-all picture it presents easily override any minor or carping criticism.

Roeder's bibliography is enormous; it ranges from the casual records of the French and Belgian soldiers to the great series of documents compiled by Genaro García and Carlos Pereyra in thirty-six volumes, which include the ten volumes of archives of Marshal Bazaine. (It is odd that Roeder mentions the name of only one of the two co-authors.) There are a few important gaps. Without checking the whole bibliography, I did come upon several unfortunate omissions, such as the official army records of the trial (*Causa*) of Maximilian, Miramón and Mejía, edited in 1868 and reprinted afresh direct from the archives by Angel Pola in 1907. The memoirs of neither Prince nor Princess Salm-Salm are utilized. Díaz' memoirs, which carry through to his first difficulties with Juárez, do not appear, nor the two-volume biography (in official co-operation with Díaz) by Quevedo y Zubietta. The contemporary *Historia de la Revolución de México contra la dictadura de General Santa Anna, 1853-1855*, which was published in 1856, is important. Junco's *Traición de Querétaro*, though its conclusions may be wrong, is perhaps the most painstaking examination of the documents of the siege and fall of Querétaro by anybody. If the *Memorias* of Lerdo de Tejada are to be included in a bibliography, they should be marked as apocryphal. The author would have found useful the *Anuario* of imperial orders, and Baz's compilation of antiecclesiastical laws. No mention is made of contemporary periodical literature which was enormous and important and would have provided much intimate color.

Guilford, Connecticut

CARLETON BEALS

PROBLEMAS DIPLOMATICOS DEL MEXICO INDEPENDIENTE. By Carlos Bosch García, de el Colegio de México. (México, D.F.: Colegio de México. 1947. Pp. 334.)

THIS study traces in careful detail the diplomatic efforts of the first Mexican governments to secure recognition by the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, and the Vatican. The author has drawn for manuscript material on the Archivo de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores of Mexico, and has used such major printed sources as the documentary collections of W. R. Manning and

C. K. Webster for North American and British policy toward Mexican independence.

Señor Bosch García concludes that ideological and economic factors decisively influenced the attitude of the powers toward recognition. He notes that the United States, unhampered by ideals of legitimacy, and eager to gain markets and political influence in Latin America, took the initiative in acknowledging the independence of the new states in President Monroe's famous message to Congress of March 8, 1822. British delay in extending recognition to Mexico is explained by the extremely conservative mentality of England's premier statesmen, Wellington and Castlereagh, to 1822, and after that date by the illusory hope of Castlereagh's successor in the foreign office, Canning, that Spain might be persuaded to grant prior recognition to her lost colonies. The failure of British mediation proposals and Canning's alarm over supposed North American designs for ascendancy in Latin America resulted in his decision to recognize Mexican independence in January, 1825. The author sees French policy toward Mexico as similarly influenced by the division between conservatives and liberals. French recognition of Mexico, made in 1831, had to await the overthrow of the absolutist Charles X and the ascent to the throne of the "bourgeois king," Louis Philippe, more responsive to the need of French industrialists and merchants for new markets in Latin America. Señor Bosch García regards the conservative-liberal cleavage as the key to the recognition policy of the mother country, Spain, as well. The reactionary Ferdinand VII stubbornly clung to the hope of reconquering his revolted colonies. On his death in 1833 a new policy was inaugurated under the regent, María Cristina, who leaned on the Liberal faction for support against the Carlist opposition, and in December, 1836, a treaty was signed recognizing Mexican independence. The Vatican, which out of deference to the Spanish court and its *patronato real* had hitherto resisted what Señor Bosch García terms the "tremendous efforts" of the United States to induce the papacy to take the step of recognition, acknowledged Mexican independence almost simultaneously, in November, 1836.

An appendix to the book usefully brings together the texts of the first treaties of amity, commerce, and navigation between Mexico and the United States, Great Britain, France, and Spain. A few criticisms must be leveled at this generally competent and adequate study. Multi-archival research would have given the work a more rounded character and provided a surer basis for the author's conclusions. The bibliography of published materials is not as complete as one might wish. Notable, for instance, is the omission of W. S. Robertson's exhaustive study of *France and Latin-American Independence*. The absence of an index is much to be regretted.

*West Virginia University*

BENJAMIN KEEN

\* \* \* *Other Recent Publications* \* \* \*

General History

EUROPE UNDER THE OLD REGIME. By *Albert Sorel*. Translated by *Francis H. Herrick*. (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie, 1947, pp. vi, 80, \$2.50.) This is a translation of the introductory section of *L'Europe et la Révolution française* by Albert Sorel. Although half a century old his work is still the outstanding account of the European state system of the eighteenth century and one of the best introductions to Revolutionary and Napoleonic diplomacy. In his treatment of Europe under the Old Regime, the part covered by this translation, Sorel does not attempt to discuss the economic and social forces behind the intrigues, alliances, revolutions, and wars of the eighteenth century, but he does point out the fact that the diplomats, kings, and other political figures of that time were worthy practitioners of the Machiavellian brand of political science. Moreover, like many statesmen today, the diplomats of the Old Regime were devout exponents of state interests, even though in trying to attain their ends, they carried out policies of state-selfishness that threatened to destroy the country itself. Pertinent indeed is Sorel's assertion that prior to 1789, "Everything was decomposing and disintegrating at once. The same crises disrupted the relations between states and disturbed at home the relations between government and citizens. In both cases the crisis was produced by the same excesses and developed by the same causes" (p. 78). The volume should be of value to the student of modern European history, for it brings out "the fundamental character of diplomacy, war, and revolution in the twentieth century as well as under the old regime." Professor Herrick's translation is well written, and it preserves the thought and expression of the original. The book is attractive in appearance. In the opinion of the writer, Herrick and other American historians, in making available to our undergraduates translations of the great works of the past, are doing something worth while.

FRANKLIN C. PALM, *University of California*

EUROPE'S POPULATION IN THE INTERWAR YEARS. By *Dudley Kirk*, Office of Population Research, Princeton University. [Series of League of Nations Publications. II. Economic and Financial, 1946, II, A, 8.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press for League of Nations, 1946, pp. xii, 303, cloth \$4.00, paper \$3.50.) The historian interested in the recent social and economic development of Europe will find this book indispensable. It contains data on the distribution of Europe's population by countries and regions and on the changes in numbers which have taken place, and explains the chief demographic factors producing these changes. Other topics of wide interest of which it treats are the effects of the development of industry on population growth, the effects of the two world wars on the populations of the different countries, the role of migration in the distribution of population as well as in the growth of the different countries, and the social and economic development of populations. The net result is to present an excellent picture of the human resources of the continent. But in addition the author deals with the probable changes in the amount and the demographic character of these resources in the next twenty-five years. The future changes of greatest importance are: (a) the acceleration of the shift of growth from northern and western Europe to eastern and southeastern Europe, with an actual

decline probable in the former before 1970 while the eastern zone will continue to grow at a rapid rate and will gain still more proportionally; (b) the relatively rapid aging of the population in western Europe when compared with that in the eastern part of the continent. Such changes can scarcely fail to have important economic and political consequences. The center of power is rapidly moving eastward. The "ethnic diversity" of the European peoples is discussed in some detail but there is almost no comment on minorities. Post-World War II minorities, of course, could not be discussed in any detail but a few paragraphs indicating their size and location would have been helpful. The final chapter, "Europe's Population in a Changing World," ends with the wishful thought that "The loss of exclusive political power does not predicate the loss of that cultural leadership that Western Europe has so long exercised in the World." Perhaps the historian can answer the question how long cultural leadership will survive the loss of political power. This demographer will hazard the guess that it will not be long.

WARREN S. THOMPSON, *Miami University*

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Ancient History<sup>1</sup>

T. Robert S. Broughton

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## Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

STUDI DI STORIA ECONOMICA MEDIEVALE. By *Armando Saporì*. [Biblioteca Storica Sansoni, Nuova Serie, V.] (Florence, G. C. Sansoni, 1946, pp. xxii, 906, L. 1600.) Gazing at a solid shelf full of the wordy volumes by Davidsohn on the history of Florence before 1330 one might naively have thought, "Now that's done, but who will continue the story?" Yet the most fruitful work of Florentine historians of

Florence during the past few decades has been devoted quite as much to digging deeper into the period Davidsohn seemed to have blanketed as in continuing his story. By a host of articles and a number of books Armando Saporì especially has pushed research into private account books, contracts, and letters. The collection of writings which he has brought together in this volume emphasizes that his meticulous and persistent research among new materials has not only illuminated innumerable facets of medieval business but also has added substantially to understanding the society and culture of Florence at the time of Dante. Some of the essays here collected are well known to all American students of medieval Italy, but others will be new because they were published either during the war, or in out-of-the-way periodicals or prefaces to publications not found in many of our libraries. Students who have wrestled with the controversy between Salvemini and Ottokar will relish "La funzione economica della nobiltà," an essay which indeed presents a synthesis for all Italy. An extensive bibliography and an index, especially useful in identifying Tuscan merchants of the fourteenth century, contribute very much to the utility of the volume. First and last, in his preface and the final essay, Professor Saporì acknowledges his debt to Werner Sombart from whom in his youth he received inspiration. Of course, Saporì's researches have proved Sombart wrong, and the main general conclusion built upon all Saporì's findings of detail is that Sombart's generalizations about medieval trade and medieval merchants were not true of Italy. But there is a sort of homage, as Saporì recognizes, in taking another man's theories as the criterion of relevance by which to evaluate one's own findings, even if the findings again and again prove the theories wrong.

FREDERIC C. LANE, *Johns Hopkins University*

CULTURE IN EARLY ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND: A STUDY WITH ILLUSTRATIONS. By *D. Elizabeth Martin-Clarke*, Vice-Principal and Fellow, St. Hugh's College, Oxford, England. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1947, pp. xi, 100, plates, \$2.25.) This pleasantly written, if somewhat rambling, essay is based on lectures delivered in 1945 at the Johns Hopkins University, but its title is misleading. Even a sketch of culture in early Anglo-Saxon England should surely take account of all its manifestations and all foreign influences. But Miss Martin-Clarke, though she recognizes this (p. 25), confines her attention to archaeological material found in Britain and in Scandinavia and uses this to illustrate and elucidate passages in Old English poetry, particularly in *Beowulf*. Within these limits her book forms a useful introduction for beginners, especially as the text is illustrated by twenty-eight good plates. For many readers the most interesting, because least familiar, part of the book will be the description and discussion of the Sutton Hoo ship-burial. The allusion (p. 42) to the passing of Columba is obscure. According to his oldest biographers, Cummean and Adamnan, there was nothing unusual about his death in church. His obsequies lasted three days and three nights, and during this period the seas were rough. They became calm when he had been interred. There is no similarity between these occurrences and the hero-burial which Miss Martin-Clarke quotes from *Beowulf*. Furthermore, untoward manifestations of nature believed to be caused by the intervention of saints are a commonplace of hagiography, and the belief in them was not essentially pagan.

M. L. W. LAISTNER, *Cornell University*

PARLIAMENTS AND COUNCILS OF MEDIAEVAL IRELAND. Edited by *H. G. Richardson* and *G. O. Sayles*. Volume I. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1947, pp. xli, 251, £1. 5s.) The high standards of scholarship which have distinguished the publications of the Irish Manuscripts Commission throughout

the twenty years of its existence are maintained in this volume, which throws new light on the beginnings of the Irish parliament. Part I contains seventy-two documents, most of them published for the first time, illustrating various aspects of Irish parliaments and councils of the fourteenth century. At least twenty-five of the documents relate to the administration of William of Windsor (1369-76). Printed sources of this kind are so few and so inadequate that here is a notable addition indeed. Part II comprises seventy-nine brief items (sixteen in French) from four collections, edited from copies in the British Public Record Office, mostly dealing with three subsidies granted to the king's lieutenant in Ireland, the earl of Ormond, in 1420 and 1421. In a valuable introduction the editors comment on the differences and similarities between parliaments, great councils, and councils in medieval Ireland, the sources for the history of the Irish parliament in the fourteenth century, representation in the parliaments of the Ormond period, and the methods of assessing the subsidies of 1420 and 1421. An appendix includes four documents of the reign of Edward I (one of which is the earliest known reference to the rolls of an Irish parliament), and one each of the reigns of Edward III and Richard II. A lengthy index of persons and places is useful for reference purposes. Dr. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven is working on a second volume, which will contain parliamentary documents of the fifteenth century.

NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

LA CRISE D'UNE SOCIÉTÉ: SEIGNEURS ET PAYSANS DU BORDELAIS PENDANT LA GUERRE DE CENT ANS. Par *Robert Boutruche*, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 110.) (Paris, Société d'Édition: Les Belles Lettres, 1947, pp. li, 596, 900 fr.) This excellent and fully documented monograph is another fundamental contribution by French scholarship towards an understanding of medieval agrarian history in France. Representing the most careful and painstaking research in the sources and presented with modesty and charm, it is a model which others laboring in this field might do well to follow. Its full bibliography, careful indexes, maps, and *pièces justificatives* are of a high order. But most important of all, Professor Boutruche has approached his subject from a broad basis. He has, particularly in the first section of this long work, gone behind the statistics and the juridical relationships that governed seigneurial and agrarian society in the area about Bordeaux from 1300 to 1453. He has managed to give a sense of actuality above and beyond legal forms. He has thus re-created both the flavor and the feel of the men and the society of the Bordelais in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Therefore the changes which occurred during this time appear to come naturally from the soil, the people, and the circumstances of economic conditions and devastation to which the region was subject in the difficult periods of the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War. The Bordelais was not an average agricultural area of medieval France. Producing a valuable cash crop—wine, which commanded both an English and an international market—its agriculture was very early subjected to the influences of a money economy. Another peculiarity is to be found in its foreign ruling house, the kings of England. It was also relatively untouched by the ravages of the Hundred Years' War until 1438, late in the conflict, though the effects of the Black Death were severe. Nevertheless, major changes in the countryside were apparent here as elsewhere in late medieval Europe: the ending of most vestiges of serfdom, transformation of peasant dues and tenures into cash payments, impoverishment of a nobility caught between rising prices and fixed or reduced revenues, and the beginnings of bourgeois entrance into the field of agrarian exploitation on a capitalistic basis. These were all hastened by the devastation and

short labor supply brought on by the Black Death and the Hundred Years' War, but were not, implies Professor Boutruche, basically caused by them. He seems to feel that they were inevitable, despite seigneurial struggles to hold the position occupied by them in the more prosperous days of the thirteenth century.

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## MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE LEARNING

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## Modern European History

## BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

*Francis H. Herrick*

- MINUTES OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1679-1684. Second part, 1682-84.  
 Edited by E. E. Rich, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. With an Introduction by G. N. Clark, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of



Cambridge. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, IX.] (Toronto, the Society, 1946, pp. xlii, 368.) Readers who are familiar with the preceding volumes of this series will recall that the earliest minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company, those extending from 1671 to 1674, and presented in the first minutes book, were published in Volume V; that no records of minutes are available for the years 1675 to 1678; and that the content of the second minutes book, covering the time from 1679 to 1684, being too extensive for inclusion in a single volume, was divided for publication into two parts. Fortunately for editorial purposes the character of the subject matter in the second minutes book made it easy to divide the contents at the year 1682. The records of the period from 1670 to 1681 show that during that time the company had experienced many difficulties and had not been able to declare a dividend. Then fortune had changed and more profits were made in the winter of 1681-82. But this was not an unmixed blessing. News of the company's prosperity encouraged potential rivals. It is the sudden appearance of these interlopers that marks a new phase in the story told by the second minutes book and that thus provides a convenient point at which to begin a fresh volume. The forces that now began to challenge vigorously the chartered monopoly, were in three groups: Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans. They included such famous characters as Pierre Esprit Radisson, now returned to his old national allegiance, and those wily New Englanders, the Gillams. The minutes here published contain, in addition to the countless commercial details involved in the London end of the fur trade, numerous references to the struggles that took place in the bay in the years from 1682 to 1684, and to the company's efforts in London, Paris, and New England, to secure political and legal support for their position and claims in America. The editing of this volume is high in quality and uniform with that of antecedent units of the series.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT, *Queens College, New York*

THE LETTERS OF LETITIA HARGRAVE. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *Margaret Arnett MacLeod*. [The Publications of the Champlain Society, XXVIII.] (Toronto, the Society, 1947, pp. cliv, 310.) The written sources for the history of the Canadian Northwest in the days of the fur trade are voluminous. Men who were placed in charge of posts by the trading companies usually had the time, the occasion, and the ability to write many informative letters. Thousands of such documents have been published. The writings of women for the same time and place are as rare as those of men are plentiful. Well-educated women scarcely ever went into the fur country. Travel was too difficult, life too harsh, and residence too transient. The women of the country, Indians or their descendants of mixed blood, wrote little or not at all. This fact doubles the interest that would otherwise attach to the material here published for the first time. Letitia Mactavish Hargrave was one of the first women, if not the first, to write at length and in a manner worthy of publication, from what is now the northwestern part of Canada. Born in 1813, the daughter of Dugald Mactavish, himself the eldest son of Lachlan Mactavish, chief of Clan Tavish and formerly of Dunardry, Argyllshire, Scotland, Letitia received the education typical of women of her class and period. Having married James Hargrave, chief trader in charge of York Factory on Hudson Bay, and come to live with him at his post, she was in a favorable position to carry on an extensive correspondence with her relatives in Scotland. The value of Letitia Hargrave's letters lies not only in the uniqueness of their origin. Their author was a woman of superior mind and character and as such was able to add to the facts she recorded the attractiveness of witty comment and the light of shrewd observation. The period in which she wrote—1838 to 1852—was a

critical one for the Hudson's Bay Company, when trade monopoly was passing and self-government beginning in the Northwest. The wife of the chief trader at the principal depot of the company in North America was in a position to observe or learn much that was fit, though not certain to be preserved. She was also likely to use it as material for private letters to distant but trusted relatives. This was what happened in Letitia's case. Besides these letters from York Factory the volume contains several other valuable features: a few of Letitia's letters written in Great Britain or in Sault Sainte Marie; several letters by her husband, James Hargrave; photographs of some of the chief personages mentioned in the text; an exhaustive introduction and adequate footnotes. On the whole this book is worthy of its predecessors in the series.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT, *Queens College, New York*

JACOB MOUNTAIN, FIRST LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC: A STUDY IN CHURCH AND STATE, 1793-1825. By *Thomas R. Millman*, Rector of Dunham and St. Armand East, Quebec. [University of Toronto Studies, History and Economics Series, Vol. X.] (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1947, pp. viii, 320, \$4.00.) Great Britain's religious and ecclesiastical policy in Canada during the years following the conquest was of very considerable importance. Upon it depended much of the French Canadian's, as well as the "dissenting" Anglo-Saxon colonist's loyalty. This was particularly true during the period of the American Revolution and the War of 1812-14. Any attempt to enforce strictly the "establishment" of the Church of England could only lead to serious conflict within the country. It was this difficult problem that Jacob Mountain, first Church of England bishop of Quebec (1793-1825), had to face. Thus he is an important historical figure not merely for the Church of England in Canada, but also for the whole development of British government policy in Upper and Lower Canada. Because of his significance it is fitting that a scholarly life of him has been written by Dr. Millman. Most of the available sources of information have been combed thoroughly and the result is an accurate picture of Bishop Mountain and his struggle to place the Church of England in the position of the established church of Canada. That he failed was largely due to circumstances beyond his control. Dr. Millman has given us not merely a biography, but virtually an account of the Church of England's history during Bishop Mountain's regime. Yet one could wish that the author had gone farther afield for his material, into Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist archives. Had he done so, it is possible that Bishop Mountain would not have appeared in quite such a favorable light. One also would like a little more information on such matters as the position of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the ecclesiastical organization. Yet even with these qualifications Dr. Millman has given us an account which illuminates the ecclesiastical phase of British policy in Canada during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

W. STANFORD REID, *McGill University*

THE MAKING OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: A BRIEF HISTORY, 1487-1939. By *M. S. Geen*, Pretoria High School for Boys. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1947, pp. xiii, 227, xxvi, \$3.00.) This brief volume is a closely packed record of South African history from the beginnings to the present. The writer, a teacher in the Pretoria High School for Boys, does not pretend to original research, but depends largely on the works of Eric Walker and W. M. Macmillan. This convenient summary of South Africa's checkered history is presented in a commendably impartial fashion with no extravagant praise or blame for such controversial figures as Kruger, Rhodes, Herzog, and Smuts. The account is so obviously objective that the author's judgments

are sparse, possibly the result of a desire to minimize the strains and stresses of a country where questions of "tremendous difficulty and infinite complication" furnish a "problem almost unique in the history of the world." The most useful part of this largely political history is the chapter on "National Problems," where a summary of the native and land acts just before the recent war show the efforts of the government to improve the condition of the Bantu and the poor whites. The Native Trust and Lands Act of 1936, while providing for the policy of segregation, made considerable provision, especially in the Transkei area, for more land for the natives. But, even so, only "an eighth of the area of the Union will be in the occupation of the Bantu, who form two-thirds of the population." The author believes strongly that the economic progress of the whole population is essential: to this end, "some chosen spokesmen of the Bantu" should be associated "in full political control." Useful illustrations and sketch maps are included, but the lack of an index or a detailed table of contents impairs the value of an account that is so full of data.

HOWARD ROBINSON, *Oberlin College*

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#### FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

L'ORIENT ROMANESQUE EN FRANCE, 1704-1789. Tome II, BIBLIOGRAPHIE GENERALE. Par Marie-Louise Dufrenoy. (Montreal, Editions Beauchemin, 1947, pp. 509.) The first volume of this work (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LII [1946], 175-76) is a carefully documented study of the fictional narratives with an Oriental setting which were so popular in eighteenth century France. Volume II is a meticulously prepared series of bibliographies, and more besides. The bibliographies include source materials on the Orient published in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a chronological listing of the works of "Oriental" fiction published between 1605 and 1799, an alphabetical listing by authors of the same works, a bibliography of secondary studies and references, and several incidental lists. One might question the decision to publish such detailed and overlapping bibliographies, yet the result is

a convenient and perhaps useful volume. In addition to the bibliographical sections, the author offers a statistical analysis of the number of such books published during the eighteenth century, with the conclusion that the rise and decline of this particular genre followed a normal growth curve, reaching a climax at mid-century and then declining. A similar conclusion is reached as to the frequency of the use of the initial Z in the hero's name in these books. The student of literature may shudder at all of this, but the reviewer finds it a provocative footnote to the author's primarily qualitative study.

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#### MANUEL PRATIQUE POUR L'ETUDE DE LA REVOLUTION FRANÇAISE.

Par *Pierre Caron*, Directeur honoraire des archives de France. Nouvelle édition mise à jour. (Paris: Picard. 1947.) Pierre Caron's indispensable handbook, long out of print since its appearance in 1912, is now republished. In addition to much of the original data, the distinguished veteran scholar has introduced some new material, brought the older up to date, and has made some important revisions. The terminal dates, 1789 and 1799, remain unchanged, though M. Caron recognizes that a case may be made for modifying them. Unchanged too in the main is the lengthy first chapter on the organization of Revolutionary studies which deals with commissions and societies and their serial publications; reviews and periodicals; and series and individual studies edited by private individuals. Substantially unchanged too is the second chapter on manuscript sources, by itself almost one third of the entire work. This means, so far as original research in France is concerned, that this chapter is the heart of the volume. A new chapter III deals with printed sources and a new fourth chapter with printed works, an arrangement which meets earlier criticism when the material was presented in a single chapter. A short fifth chapter, which seems to the reader to overlap with the preceding one, covers current work tools, *e.g.*, dictionaries, handbooks on geography, etc., and an even shorter sixth chapter embodies the author's interesting and regrettably too brief general reflections and suggestions. In two of the several appendixes he gives useful hints on how the neophyte should tackle sample problems. It is the reviewer's opinion that for American students the most valuable portions are chapters I and III, for there their ordinary needs are met with the indispensable information not available in any other single work. M. Caron quite rightly says of the chapter on printed sources, that "To know and to be able to handle the different collections and repertories which make research in this enormous mass of texts possible is one of the first duties of the specialists of the history of the Revolution." The specialists will also welcome with high expectancy the appearance of the study which he is preparing for the press: *Bibliographie de l'histoire de la Révolution française*.

LEO GERSHOY, *New York University*

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## THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

- KUNGLIG MAJESTÄT, SVENSKA KRONAN OCH FURSTENDÖMET ESTLAND, 1592-1600. By B. Federley. (Åbo, 1946, pp. 306.) The author, who is associated with the Finnish national archives, has endeavored in this monograph to cover the political



and constitutional relations between the Swedish crown and Estonia during the tangled period of King Sigismund and Duke Charles.

FINLANDS ÖDESÅR 1939-1943. By C. O. Frietsch. (Helsingfors, Söderström, 1945, pp. 536.) This volume, by a member of the Swedish People's party in the Finnish Riksdag, is intended to portray the events of the war years as these were experienced by members of the Riksdag. Frietsch became a member of the "peace opposition" which sought to take Finland out of hostilities. Nearly four fifths of the volume is devoted to events antedating the autumn of 1941. The writer intends to issue a second volume on the events of 1943-44 leading to the armistice. He has meant this volume to be one move in the effort to dissipate the "blackout" of information which, he feels, heavily covered his country.

#### THE NORTHERN TANGLE: SCANDINAVIA AND THE POST-WAR WORLD.

By Rowland Kenney. (London, Dent, 1946, pp. 255, 12s. 6d.) The title of this book is slightly misleading. After a hurried summary of northern history since the Viking period it presents a relatively detailed story of the years 1939 to 1944, and then winds up with a supplementary chapter covering the year 1945. It supplies a good skeleton or framework of developments in the northern countries during the war years. The writer warns all who think of the northern countries as a unit that in foreign policies a measure of diversity must be expected, though all the northern countries will support a universal organization such as the United Nations.

#### SOCIAL DENMARK: A SURVEY OF THE DANISH SOCIAL LEGISLATION.

Edited and Published by *Socialt Tidsskrift*. (Copenhagen, distributed by Crown Publishers, New York, 1947, pp. 475, \$6.00.) This substantial and authoritative volume is likely to remain for some time the leading reference work on the subject, in English. There are extensive sections on social insurance, public assistance, prevention of disease, organization of the labor market, the housing question, and education and popular enlightenment. It is the chapters on the last-named subject which may interest historians most.

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

*Sergius Yakobson*

SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR. By The Very Reverend Dr. *Hewlett Johnson*, Dean of Canterbury. (New York, Boni and Gaer, 1947, pp. ix, 270, \$3.00.) Serious students of the Soviet Union are likely to profit as little from the volume under review as they did from the amiable dean of Canterbury's earlier two efforts in the same field. In substance it is a record of the dean's observations, interviews, reflections, and miscellaneous data gathered during a three-months' visit in the summer of 1945, in the course of which he traveled widely, visiting Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Tiflis, and Samarkand, and interviewed many notables, including Generalissimo Stalin. Rare is the visitor to Russia who can say with the dean: "I traveled where I wished, saw what I wished, met whom I wished." The obvious effect of the visit has been to reinforce the dean's long-cherished belief that the Soviet Union points the way, if it does not yet hold the key, to the world's salvation. The Russian public "no more questions the communist creed than we question antiseptic surgery," avers Dr. Johnson. His own faith in the Soviet Union is no less innocent or complete. Its government, he is convinced, is one "of the people, for the people and *by the people*," and elections represent a genuine expression of the people's will. The dean's apparently hopeless inability to comprehend the nature of the democratic creed is revealed in his bland judgment that the differences between the Soviet and western concepts of democracy are not substantive but merely terminological. He is not unaware that the Soviet Union has committed "mistakes and blunders and has done many wrong things," but he asks: "What country is innocent?" Present Soviet goals in foreign policy he finds to be identical with those formulated by Stalin in March, 1939, namely, stability and peaceful relations with all peace-loving countries. "No military conquests are sought . . . only the conquest of idea and example," asseverates Dr. Johnson. He notes, however, that "directly or indirectly the United States controls three quarters

of the world and from that direction at least, charges against the Soviet Union of expansionism or undue influence could meet with justifiable rebound."

ISAAC STONE, *Washington, D. C.*

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## Near Eastern and Indian History

*Sidney Glazer*

TWIN RIVERS: A BRIEF HISTORY OF IRAQ FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Seton Lloyd*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. viii, 244, \$3.25.) The author, a professional archaeologist in the Iraq Department of Antiquities, has been unusually successful in combining in one book a well-proportioned popular account of Iraqi history and an exceedingly useful reference manual. Laymen and scholars alike will find much that is new to them in fields outside their specialties, and all will enjoy the eminently readable style. The chapters are prefaced by king lists, tables of dynastic and family relationships, dates, and these, together with the maps, charts, and good index, enhance the value of the book. *Twin Rivers* is avowedly unoriginal in that it is a skillful compilation of quotations and summarized paraphrases derived from a comparatively small number of sources. It is a regret that for the Islamic period he failed to use the best available. The last



chapter, entitled "Arabs: The Twentieth Century," is also disappointing, and not merely for its skimpiness. Mr. Lloyd seems anxious to avoid giving offense to the living or to their immediate ancestors. Such an attitude is no doubt an excellent virtue for a government administrator or in general social intercourse, but it is almost deadly for a historian of modern times. The latter half of his book is almost completely lacking in interpretation. The meatless bones of names and dates cannot give any significant clue to the genius of the modern Iraqis nor indicate the nature and potential scope of their role in Near Eastern history for the second half of the twentieth century.

LA CIVILISATION DU DESERT: NOMADES D'ORIENT ET D'AFRIQUE. Par Robert Montagne. [Le Tour du Monde.] (Paris, Hachette, 1947, pp. 267, 210 fr.) Robert Montagne has seen much of nomadic life in North Africa and the Middle East and records it in this volume. The book contains eight chapters: "The Material Life of the Nomads"; "The Social Organization of the Nomads"; "Beliefs and Institutions"; "Bedouin Literature"; "Bedouin Emirates"; "A Bedouin Theocracy: The Two Sa'ûdi Empires [18th and 20th centuries]"; "The Settling of Nomads in the Orient"; "The Conquest of Africa [7th-18th centuries]." A very short bibliography brings the book to a close. This book, well illustrated with diagrams and photographs, is rich in valuable details, and the inclusion of the last four chapters gives, in addition, an insight into the history of the Bedouins that is lacking in earlier studies. The author is to be congratulated on so notable a contribution to the social and political study of the Middle East and the Arab tribes. In Arab countries, the impact of modern Western culture has, in the last thirty years, resulted in a ferment and a confusion of ideas and thought. The camel is giving way to the motor car and the sword to the machine gun. Little or nothing has as yet been done for the education of the tribesmen, although they constitute a majority of the population of Iraq and Arabia. Nomads have their own peculiar outlook, religion, knowledge, skills, and character. The Bedouin, wherever he goes, creates around him an environment befitting his way of life. Many a fertile plain from which he has driven its agricultural inhabitants is swallowed up in time by the desert. Camels and sheep are the Bedouin's only means of subsistence, and as long as he leads his present unsettled mode of life, and can sustain himself on the milk which they produce, he is independent of the need to cultivate the land. The effect of this is that the land from which he has driven the *fellahîn* deteriorates, and also his neighbors are reduced to utter poverty by his raids and depredations. Montagne's account is doubly valuable as a record of an age-old mode of life that is gradually passing. The Bedouin is now halfway between nomadism and settled farming; he has to abandon the free and hardy life of the desert and to compromise with the forces of modern times, although the old antagonism between the tent-dweller and the house-dweller still exists. Much of the romantic glamour of desert life has already gone. But the transition still demands and will demand great effort. We recommend all those interested in modern developments in the Arab countries—indeed, anywhere in the East—to read Montagne's delightful and thoughtful treatise. Only through a deep intimacy with his subject and through long and patient thought, could Montagne succeed in giving, within the range of his book, so much factual information and so full a discussion of the issues involved. It is a pity that he did not add an index of the Bedouin vocabulary mentioned in the book as well as the terms and place names.

TOUVIA ASHKENAZI, *Hebrew Institute of Pittsburgh*

PALESTINE: TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, AND PRONOUNCEMENTS, 1914-1946.  
Compiled and Arranged with annotations by *Touvia Ashkenazi and Chaim Locker*.

(Pittsburgh, mimeograph, "Kedem" Publishing House, 1947, unpaginated.) If the compilers of this collection of documents on the history of the Palestine mandate had succeeded in their purpose, they would have done a notable service to historians, officials, and others concerned with the problems of the Holy Land. Unhappily, they were far from equal to the task. The collection, covering the years 1914-1946 and including a final section on Trans-Jordan, is in some respects distinctive, but it is also partisan and occasionally the selection of items is ill-advised. These and other deficiencies prohibit favorable recommendation of this work. The format is poor and the editing amateurish. Errors in typography and spelling are so numerous that the book may safely be characterized as unreliable. The annotations are inadequate and, in general, would not furnish explanatory information for the average reader who is unfamiliar with the Palestine problem. Some defects in the volume reflect a surprising lack of care; others are merely amusing. For instance, the book is unpaginated in spite of the fact that the table of contents assigns page numbers; the renowned diarist of the Paris Peace Conference is consistently referred to as "David Hunter Muller."

CHARLES R. GELLNER, *Washington, D. C.*

A new periodical of interest to students of modern Greece has appeared, the *Bulletin analytique de bibliographie hellénique*, published by the Institut français d'Athènes under the direction of M. Octave Merlier. This is a quarterly publication, of which fascicules I-III for 1946 are now available. These three numbers list 1,030 works published in Greece during the year 1946. Every item is annotated, many at considerable length. Virtually every publication of any significance is included in the bibliography. The list includes works on literature, philosophy, religion, pedagogy, law, economics, agriculture, archaeology, music, art, the sciences, and the history of Greece and other countries in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods. In addition, fascicule III lists the articles published in 1946 in forty-eight Greek periodicals of all varieties—historical, scientific, literary, legal, economic, and technical. Although these 1946 issues of the *Bulletin* are the first to appear, they are numbered Volume VII. The explanation is that six more volumes will be compiled, one for each year between 1940 and 1945. When these have appeared, a complete bibliography will be available of Greek publications since 1940. And in the meantime the bibliography will be kept up to date with successive quarterly issues. It is also planned to include in some of these issues bibliographical articles, entitled "panoramas," which will review publications in specific fields. The first of these articles, which will appear in an early issue of the *Bulletin*, will deal with folklore studies published since 1940. The bibliographical *Bulletin* is not the only publication of the institute. Since 1945 it has issued eight studies, of which the most important for historians is the second volume of the outstanding *History of the Byzantine State* by Professor Amandos. Eight more works are scheduled for 1948, including *Public and Private Life in Byzantium* by Koukoules, *History of Byzantine Art* by Sotiriou, *The Ionians in Asia Minor* by the prolific young historian, Sakellariou, and translations by Merlier of certain works of the most distinguished modern Greek poet, Sikelianos.

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

THE FAR EAST: A HISTORY OF THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON EASTERN ASIA. By *Paul Hibbert Clyde*. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1948, pp. xxi, 862, \$7.65.)

This new text is chiefly devoted to the twentieth century: 256 pages deal with events to 1895, and 545 pages with developments since then, to the summer of 1947. The main emphasis is naturally upon China and Japan, but peripheral areas are included—Burma and the rest of Southeast Asia, Siberia and the rest of Northeast Asia. The first hundred pages provide a cogent and interesting geographical introduction, summaries of Chinese and Japanese historical development, and of early European contact to 1800. A selected bibliography, arranged by chapters and with some annotations, runs to thirty-five pages, in addition to numerous footnotes in the text. There are more than fifty maps and charts. As indicated in the title, this volume aims to describe the Western impact on East Asia and the international relations resulting, rather than to recount the modern history of Chinese and Japanese society as a whole. In this it follows the lead of modern scholarly literature concerning the Far East, which has been much more concerned with East-West relations (or the Western impact) than with native developments. The author has made this a point of strength, for he displays in extensive footnotes a broad and sophisticated grasp of the monographs and articles in Western languages on the modern Far East. The result is undoubtedly the most useful summary and reference volume since the publication in 1931 of Morse and MacNair, *Far Eastern International Relations*. The present volume shows a much firmer mastery of the subject and greater scope and balance than Professor Clyde's earlier *History of the Modern and Contemporary Far East* (1937) and should prove of particular value to students and teachers in the field of international relations.

J. K. FAIRBANK, *Harvard University*

POST-WAR GOVERNMENTS OF THE FAR EAST. Edited by *Taylor Cole* and *John H. Hollowell*. [Reprinted from the *Journal of Politics*, November, 1947.] (Gainesville, Fla., distributed by Kallman Publishing Company, 1947, pp. 473-744, \$1.75.) The account of the separate governments is preceded by a provocative essay by Professor Paul H. Clyde. His thesis is that it may be possible to export the principle of democracy but not actual institutions. The peoples of Asia have their own political, social, and philosophic ideas, which are far too tough to be obliterated by the impact of a new arrival from the West. Democracy may acclimatize itself in time, but it will be powerfully influenced by the Asiatic ways of life, and very different from its Western prototype. Professor Clyde supports his point by illustrations from the contemporary governments of eastern Asia. Incidentally, the other papers in this volume provide a good deal of confirmatory evidence. It is too early to be dogmatic about the postwar governments of Asia; but it seems pretty certain that they will be a new species of democracy. Professor Linebarger is no friend of the Chinese Communists, and he is about equally critical of the government of Chiang Kai-shek. He hopes that through the newly elected Assembly the democracy that neither great party wants will eventually come to China. Professor Lindsay is sympathetic to the Communists, and strongly condemns the policy of the National Government and the United States. There is a very interesting analysis of General MacArthur's policy in Japan by Professor Masland. The general is most anxious that the Japanese should become truly democratic, so long as they do not choose leaders who are either extreme conservatives or communists. The result, the author believes, is that political power is wielded by the bureaucrats and the moderate conservatives who used to be in alliance with the militarists. No genuine democratic leadership has yet appeared. Professor Vinacke gives a pessimistic account of the Philippine postwar situation. The government is controlled by the prewar governing classes, who have not carried out the economic reforms which were years overdue. So he foresees a renewal of the old struggle between the Haves and the Have Nots. There is an interesting analysis of the elements that make up the Indonesian Republic by Professor Steiner. Professor Micaud has a factual and impartial account of the war between France and the Viet Nam Republic. There are good papers on India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malaya. Altogether this volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the changing world of eastern Asia.

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## United States History

E. C. Burnett

### GENERAL

THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY: 1946, SEVENTEENTH YEARBOOK. Edited by *Richard E. Thursfield*. (Washington, National Council for the Social Studies, National Education Association, 1947, pp. xviii, 442, cloth \$2.50, paper \$2.00.) Although the *Seventeenth Yearbook* is focused upon the instructional problems of high-school teachers of American history, at least half of the volume ought to find a place on the required reading list of professors of history whose interest is wider than the development of research historians and who sense the responsibility of universities and colleges for sending out high-school teachers capable of effective instruction in American history. To implement its objective of improving the teaching and study of American history, the *Yearbook* is organized into eight sections: (1) "The Function of American History in One World"; (2) "Newer Interpretations



and Emphases in American History"; (3) "American History and Its Allies"; (4) "Vertical Articulation of the American History Program"; (5) "Methods, Materials, and Resources in American History"; (6) "Evaluation and Tests in American History"; (7) "Teachers and Their Preparation"; (8) "Summary." Professor Lewis Todd has a provocative chapter on "Opportunities for American History" in section one. It is easier to agree with his "unique contributions" of American history (pp. 6-10) than it is to subscribe without reservation to his statements that "the characteristics of a 'good' world citizen are easily defined" (p. 4) and that "it is reasonable to suppose that in most nations of the world most educators will agree upon the broad outline of the future that they wish to see man realize" (p. 12). But there will be no disagreement from high-school teachers as to the urgent need for active co-operation from the professional historians in helping to select the content of high-school history courses. A beginning in this practical co-operation between professional historians and the "practitioners" in the public schools is made in section two. Here the best of recent historical literature is selected and annotated for the benefit of the busy teacher. It is at once a first-rate guide to professional reading and a check list for reviewing the inadequacies of the history section of the school library. There are a good many significant recommendations for teachers and administrators in the *Yearbook*, and it merits high praise for a needed task well done. It will, perhaps, be labeled "obsolete" by those who subscribe to the belief that subject matter is of small moment in training high-school youngsters. Actually, the volume accomplishes its purpose of demonstrating "that the subject need not be torn apart in order to function in the lives of children and youth" (p. vii). It ought to jar average teachers into action designed to vitalize their teaching, and master teachers can read it to their profit. It contains many suggestions for fruitful research by seekers after advanced degrees. Nowhere else can college teachers get a more adequate understanding of the problems faced by their fellow laborers in the public schools. In the end, of course, its value will depend on how effectively it is used to improve "The Study and Teaching of American History"—and that lies not so much in the laps of the gods as in the determination of classroom teachers and supervisors everywhere to "do something" about improving their instruction.

JOHN H. HAEFNER, *State University of Iowa*

INDIANS BEFORE COLUMBUS: TWENTY THOUSAND YEARS OF NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY REVEALED BY ARCHEOLOGY. By *Paul S. Martin, George I. Quimby, and Donald Collier*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. xxiii, 582, \$6.00.). In this publication we have the first comprehensive report since 1919 on the archaeology of North America north of Mexico. With a few exceptions, all portions of this vast area are considered. Chronological sequences are set up for all areas in which the work of field investigators has made them possible. Purportedly it is written for "the interested layman," but only the first and second parts merit this designation. Part I deals briefly with the aboriginal background, and with some of the techniques of archaeological research. Part II deals with Indian arts and industries. The first 18,000 years of the title's 20,000 years are covered in the sixteen pages of Part III, a brief résumé of early man in America, dealing largely with the Folsom and Cochise cultures. Part IV is an excellent summary of the cultures of the southwest. Part V treats of the area from the Rockies to the Atlantic, divided into eleven sub-areas. A synthesis of the sub-areas is made by means of a general chronological sequence of four periods: (1) the Archaic or pre-ceramic horizon to about 500 A.D.; (2) A.D. 500 to 900, the introduction of pottery and agriculture, with burial mounds in the south central portion; (3) 900 to 1300 A.D., the Hopewellian horizon, with great elaboration

of burial mounds, and evidences of widespread trade; (4) 1300 to 1700 A.D., the Mississippi horizon, with agriculture highly developed, and with temple mounds and the "Southern Cult" in the south. Part VI is devoted to the Pacific slope, where the limited archaeological data from parts of the area need supplementing by ethnological data. Part VII discusses the Eskimo. Part VIII, the conclusion, deals primarily with an excellent chronological chart. The book is well planned and well illustrated and, by virtue of its comprehensive character, is of great value to one interested in American prehistory.

LLOYD A. WILFORD, *University of Minnesota*

THOMAS JEFFERSON, AMERICAN HUMANIST. By *Karl Lehmann*. (New York, Macmillan, 1947, pp. xiii, 273, \$4.50.) This book adds little to what has already been said in some of the recent studies on Thomas Jefferson. In portraying Jefferson as humanist, Dr. Lehmann has generally followed the beaten tracks through the published works of Jefferson and ignored unpublished material which might have provided novel shading and color. Nevertheless, the author's enthusiastic approach to his versatile subject compensates in a measure for the lack of new substance. The study is divided into three parts: "Conversation with the Ancients"; "Fact and Reflection"; and "Reason and Imagination." The first part appraises Jefferson's contact with the classics and with the few remains of antiquity seen on his European tours. The second takes up Jefferson's "fundamental approach to history." Here and in later chapters dealing with the influence of the Greek and Roman heritage on what Bacon called the faculty of reason, Dr. Lehmann goes over ground covered by the excellent studies of Adrienne Koch and Charles Wiltse. Dr. Lehmann is at his best in Part Three, in which he discusses the humanistic tradition with respect to the faculty of imagination. Particularly interesting is the suggestion that Jefferson's choice of the site and name of Monticello represents a "desire to revive the idea of the ancient villa." In support of this view the author enumerates several features in the adopted or proposed plans for Monticello which might have been inspired by Roman models in the villas of Pliny, Varro, Cicero, and Hadrian. Inadequate attention to the basic facts of Jefferson's life is responsible for this kind of error: "It was the rude interference of death which threw Jefferson back on the stormy sea of history, and he went as American minister to Paris. The four years there . . ." (p. 55). It is well known that Jefferson did not leave for France until 1784, two years after his wife's death, and he remained there for five years. The method of documentation is confusing and without justification unless it has been established beyond cavil that the general reading public is allergic to footnotes. And the bibliography evidences careless proofreading, as Dumbaud for Dumbauld, Megs for Mayo.

ELIZABETH COMETTI, *Woman's College, University of North Carolina*

THOMAS JEFFERSON AMONG THE ARTS: AN ESSAY IN EARLY AMERICAN ESTHETICS. By *Eleanor Davidson Berman*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1947, pp. xviii, 305, \$3.75.) This book, a thesis for a doctor's degree, depends too much on secondary sources to have any real value as a contribution to our knowledge of Jefferson and the arts. Miss Berman has read the works on this subject of Chinard, Fiske Kimball, Frary, Kallen, Nock, and others, and in far too many instances has drawn her conclusions on Jefferson from these authors, and not from Jefferson himself. Even the quotations from Jefferson's own writings, his letters, his garden book, his account books, and so forth, are made at second hand from printed and edited editions, though the originals, or even photostatic copies, are all available to scholars. This is a serious fault and has led Miss Berman into grave errors. She makes use for instance of the

Ford and the Monticello editions of Jefferson's letters. In several cases the editors have omitted the names of Jefferson's correspondents and in making quotations Miss Berman has definitely stated the letter to be "to an as yet unidentified correspondent." A visit, or even a letter to the Library of Congress, and reference to the Jefferson Papers would have shown her error and supplied the missing name of the correspondent. Again, Miss Berman makes several references to "Jefferson's 1815 Catalogue of his library, published at Washington by Jonathan Elliott" (sometimes correctly spelled Elliot). This is a gross error. Jefferson made no catalogue of his library in 1815, and no printed catalogue of his library was ever made. The book referred to was published by Congress, and is entitled: "Catalogue of the Library of the United States to which is annexed a copious Index. Alphabetically arranged. Washington. Printed by Jonathan Elliot, 1815." In this catalogue, superintended by George Watterston, Librarian of Congress, Jefferson's arrangement of his books was completely done away with, to his own disappointment and disgust. Miss Berman's analysis of a chapter of this catalogue, described by her specifically as "the Catalogue of Jefferson's library which he made in 1815" is not only misleading but worthless. She makes a point of the subdivisions Logic, Rhetoric, and Orations, apparently ignorant of the fact that this arrangement emanated from Mr. Watterston and is nonexistent in Jefferson's manuscript catalogue, where the chapter is merely headed "Oratory." The book abounds in such instances of misuse of materials, due to ignorance or carelessness. Miss Berman has done much reading for the compilation of her book, and will do better work when she has learned the advantages of using primary rather than secondary sources. The book is well documented, has a useful bibliography, and several good illustrations.

E. M. SOWERBY, *Washington, D. C.*

A DISQUISITION ON GOVERNMENT. By *John C. Calhoun*. With an Introduction by *Naphtaly Levy*. (New York, Political Science Classics, 1947, pp. xii, 107, cloth \$2.75, paper \$2.00.) Whether Calhoun's *Disquisition on Government* should be removed from the museum of political antiquities, dusted off, and given a reprinting may not be answered by everybody in the affirmative. The short time value of the work was confined to the statesmen of the Confederacy, and ended at Appomattox. The worth of his theory of the concurrent majority as an aid to the democratic process is no greater now than it was in Calhoun's own day. Calhoun must therefore be listed among those political theorists whose writings have not influenced profoundly the development of the modern state. Nevertheless, the latent possibilities of tyranny in the unrestricted rule of the majority cannot be argued away. Calhoun was right when he insisted that human ingenuity must contrive safeguards for the minority. Where he erred was in the application of his theoretical principles to the American political system. There can be no doubt that Calhoun's essay is an important contribution to American political thought. It therefore deserves reprinting from time to time in order that it may not be wholly lost.

WILLIAM S. CARPENTER, *Princeton University*

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE AND EUROPEAN LITERARY TRADITION. By *Jane Lundblad*. [The American Institute in the University of Upsala, Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, VI.] (Upsala, A.-B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 196, \$2.50.) As the bibliographical information indicates, this study is one of several published by Swedish scholars on American literary problems, and should be adjudged accordingly. Inasmuch as a great portion of American literary scholarship on Hawthorne has in recent years been devoted in part to thinning the romantic mists in which his personality has been

enveloped and to developing the picture of Hawthorne as an active member of American society, it is refreshing to find Miss Lundblad returning to an elder tradition and insisting upon Hawthorne as a member of the romantic movement in the fullest sense of that vague term. She has mastered current scholarship, including manuscript materials; and she gives in an introductory chapter a fair picture of the cultural development of New England before Hawthorne's maturity. Doubtless a cis-Atlantic scholar would have altered emphasis here and there. The heart of her study (which concerns, in fact, all of Hawthorne's reading and not merely his European books) has to do with Gothic romance; and as she sets up a pattern for this once popular form in some dozen categories ("the crime," "religion," "deformity" and "blood" are characteristic), she has little difficulty fitting most of Hawthorne's novels and tales into one or more of her partitions. She also thinks that Zenobia in *The Blithedale Romance* owes something to the *Corinne* of Mme. de Staël; and somewhat less successfully tries to work out a relation between Hawthorne and Balzac. The great virtue of the study is to remind the reader that western Europe and the United States are culturally one; the weakness of the monograph, where it has any, is a certain naive belief that if things in literary history are alike, they must spring from the same "source."

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, *Harvard University*

AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RISE OF NAPOLEON III: A CROSS SECTION OF PUBLIC OPINION. By *Henry W. Casper*, S.J. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1947, pp. xv, 242.) History is the study of attitudes rather than of material facts. What is important about the *Maine* is not the actual explosion, but the reaction it determined in the American mind. So a thesis like Dr. Casper's is most welcome indeed. But no safe technique has yet been evolved, even for the investigation of current attitudes. In the present case, the results seem valid only because they are a confirmation of the obvious. "America" (if there were such an entity) welcomed the Second French Republic because it was a republic; had misgivings because it did not follow the American federal pattern; was cool to Louis Napoleon as president; condemned his Roman policy; and wholly disapproved of his coup d'état. Exactly what anyone would expect. A large proportion of the slim volume is devoted to a lucid, but elementary, rehearsal of the events. The most original and substantial part analyzes the papers of our ambassadors at the time, Richard Rush and William C. Rives. Both were highly qualified, scrupulously fair, and duly sympathetic: infinitely superior to Gouverneur Morris, not to mention later instances. The rest deals with the press. It can hardly be called a cross section of public opinion, and would be unconvincing if there had been any serious differences in America. The most interesting bits are the dissenting voices. Washington Irving approved of the coup d'état, but chiefly for personal reasons. The *North American Review* alone made an intelligent case for that daring stroke. Comic relief was provided by the *Richmond Examiner*, which endorsed the Second Empire because "*A Republic is an impossible institution for a Celtic people.*" The work is remarkably free from bias, and from major errors. Only Napoleon III never was "Emperor of France."

ALBERT GUÉRARD, *Stanford University*

HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1860.

Prepared under the direction of *Balthasar Henry Meyer* by *Caroline E. MacGill* and a staff of collaborators. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (New York, Peter Smith, 1948, xi, 678, \$10.00.) This work, originally published in

1917 by the Carnegie Institution, has been out of print for a number of years. At the request of the Out of Print Books Committee of the American Library Association it has now been reissued in an offset reprint edition of 350 copies. For a review of the original edition, see *American Historical Review*, XXIII (January, 1918), 409.

THE FINNS IN AMERICA: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO THEIR HISTORY. By *John I. Kolehmainen*, Heidelberg College. (Hancock, Mich., Suomi College, Finnish American Historical Library, 1947, pp. 141, \$2.00.) Published under the auspices of Suomi College in Hancock, Michigan, this little volume represents the results of research and compilation made possible by a Social Science Research Council grant. The author has performed a commendable task in preparing this first bibliography of the Finns in America for publication. The content is topically arranged, under twelve headings, and ranges from emigration and settlement (going back, in point of time, to the seventeenth century—Finns on the Delaware) to quite recent aspects of immigrant life in the New World. Most of the items span the last fifty years; few go beyond 1900. Incidentally, newspapers and periodicals alone account for no less than twenty-two pages of the bibliography—until a generation ago, they were, along with co-operatives and various uplift societies, perhaps the most striking feature of Finnish immigrant life in America. Dr. Kolehmainen is to be congratulated for this latest product of his labors in Finnish-American historical study.

JOHN H. WUORINEN, *Columbia University*

TO BE FREE: STUDIES IN AMERICAN NEGRO HISTORY. By *Herbert Aptheker*. (New York, International Publishers, 1948, pp. 256, \$3.00.) One historian recently said, "Under the British West Indian and United States laws the Negro slave could not hope for self-redemption by purchase." Another remarked that the Negro people "became free without any efforts of their own." The essays in the present volume will doubtless suggest to thoughtful historians the possibility of re-examining statements such as those made above in the light of a growing body of information on the history of the Negro in the United States. Mr. Aptheker states that many slaves purchased their freedom and then redeemed their relatives and friends. His careful examination of the activities of slave guerillas and of the period of militant abolitionism reveals a profusion of activity among Negroes in the crusade against slavery. One cannot read of the services of Negroes in the Union Navy or study the statistics of Negro casualties during the Civil War without reaching the conclusion that many thousands of Negroes made significant contributions toward the emancipation of the slaves. When freedom came, Negroes in several Southern states discussed their problems in conventions and made constructive suggestions regarding the course of Reconstruction. Because of the growing emphasis on the study of American history in all its numerous aspects, it becomes more and more difficult to neglect the history of the Negro in America. While these seven essays have great value in themselves in providing information on some hitherto neglected aspects of the history of the American Negro, they have additional significance for at least two other reasons. In the first place, they suggest, by implication, the need to re-examine certain aspects of the relationships between Negroes and the larger community at various times in the nation's history. For example, the existence of numerous bands of Negro marauders and the rather widespread practice of buying freedom suggest a relationship that has not been adequately treated by many historians. In the second place, the essays make use of certain important source materials that have not received the attention that they deserve from persons who command the respect of serious students. County records, the papers of

local organizations, and Army and Navy records are a few of the sources that Mr. Aptheker used with profit and that others could use with similar good fortune. These essays will, therefore, be useful for the information they provide and for the methodology and materials they suggest. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, *Howard University*

ADMIRAL HALSEY'S STORY. By Fleet Admiral *William F. Halsey*, USN, and Lieutenant Commander *J. Bryan III*, USNR. (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1947, pp. xvii, 310, \$4.00.) Historians of the Pacific War will not be detained long by this book, but neither can they afford to overlook it. Anything the admiral had to say about himself and the war would, of course, be interesting reading. The bulk of the book, after some seventy-five pages on his prewar career, consists of a narrative of operations of which he was in command. Liberally interspersed with notes and comments by his staff and other officers, and enriched by personal reminiscences, the narrative supplies a colorful account of Third Fleet operations from Guadalcanal to Tokyo. It is, however, the least valuable part of the book, since the story is available in greater detail and accuracy elsewhere. Of more interest and importance is the portrait of the fleet admiral that emerges from these pages. According to the authors, it is "not the fake, flamboyant 'Bull'" of the newspapers they have sought to portray, but the real Halsey. Any apparent resemblance between the two—as when the latter exults over "rich, rewarding, beautiful slaughter"—must therefore be assumed to be entirely fortuitous. None of the admiral's reflections upon his crucial strategic and tactical decisions of the war will be more eagerly read than those concerned with the battle for Leyte Gulf. Yet here is one of the most remarkable and disappointing features of the book. The "mistake" to which he confesses is not the decision to go north and leave San Bernardino Strait unguarded, but the decision to abandon pursuit of the northern Japanese decoy force and return to assist the Seventh Fleet. The more controversial decision is dismissed with the remark that he would "make it again," given the same circumstances and information.

C. VANN WOODWARD, *Johns Hopkins University*

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## NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- ARMS MAKERS OF THE CONNECTICUT VALLEY: A REGIONAL STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE SMALL ARMS INDUSTRY, 1798-1870. By *Felicia Johnson Deyrup*. [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXIII.] (Northampton, Smith College, 1948, pp. vii, 290.) In terms of the value of the product, the amount of capital invested, and the number of men employed, the small-arms industry of the nineteenth century was too insignificant to be considered a typical American industry. Also, its heavy reliance on government purchases and the unusually inelastic nature of its demand were not generally characteristic of manufacturing.

Nevertheless its history offers opportunity to examine developing mass production, with its accompanying specialization, the use of interchangeable parts, and the necessity for more accurate cost accounting than had prevailed in simpler days. An additional peculiarity of this industry was that government and private production went on side by side, apparently with no objections on the part of private producers. Government arsenals offered opportunity for the application of the "yard stick" to private contracts, though satisfactory standards and efficient inspection were but slowly achieved. After an introductory section Miss Deyrup divides her material chronologically, labeling the divisions: "Development under Government Patronage, 1798-1830"; "Industrial Independence, 1831-1860"; "Expansion and Adjustment, 1861-1870." In the first of these the treatment of the contract system is illuminating. Advances on government contracts were often the source of the capital which made private production possible. Failure to understand the nature of their costs and to estimate them properly brought about many losses on the part of the contractors. The special interest of part 3 lies in the treatment of the significance of interchangeable parts. Part 4 emphasizes the development of a foreign market and the diversification of product to counter the decline in domestic demand after the Civil War. Students of labor relations will not find much of significance here but Miss Deyrup recounts one curious circumstance. Employment in the Springfield armory was in such demand that so-called "privileges" were bought and sold, the heirs of one deceased arms worker even offering his privilege for sale among his other assets. This practice was not forbidden until 1833.

ELIZABETH DONNAN, *Wellesley College*

A HISTORY OF BOSTON COLLEGE. By *David R. Dunigan*, S.J. [The Catholic Education Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1947, pp. xviii, 362, \$6.00.) This history of a church-related college testifies to the author's industry but never rises above the level of the trivial. Here will be found an account of the victory of the Boston College football team over Yale (1919), of the first military mass on the campus, and lengthy descriptions of architecture and landscaping. Carefully reported—with due credit to the donors—is the accumulation of property. An appendix lists the names of graduates who have died in military service; another lists those who have reached episcopal rank in the Roman Catholic hierarchy. But anyone seeking either a statement of the philosophical assumptions of the educational formula designed by Loyola in the sixteenth century or an estimate of the work and standards of this particular Jesuit institution will be disappointed. Those who are interested in the triumph of the Irish in getting control of American Catholicism, and in that specialized acculturation, the Americanization of Irish Catholicism, may find this book useful.

THOMAS LE DUC, *University of Nebraska*

PENNSYLVANIA PETROLEUM, 1750-1872: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. Compiled and Edited by *Paul H. Giddens*, Professor of History and Political Science, Allegheny College, Curator of Drake Well Memorial Park. (Titusville, Pa., Drake Well Memorial Park, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1947, pp. xv, 420.) In 1938 Paul H. Giddens published *The Birth of the Oil Industry*, which was the first carefully evaluated and objective book on the history of the subject to appear in the United States. The volume under review is a companion to that first contribution; *Pennsylvania Petroleum, 1750-1872* is a collection of documents covering approximately the same period of years. Many of the items are published for the first time and others have been resurrected from obscure places in newspaper files. Approximately one half of the material deals with Drake and the very early develop-

ment in the oil fields of Pennsylvania; the remainder presents other raw material which Mr. Giddens wove into the narrative of his first book. If another author desires to examine the material for other hypotheses, it is now available in easily accessible form. Two points may well be made in connection with the compilation. First, it is very easy for the historian to overemphasize Colonel E. L. Drake's place in the oil industry. That erstwhile railroad conductor drilled the first commercially profitable oil well in the United States. In that capacity his fame is secure. On the other hand, the demand for inexpensive illuminants and lubricants at the time was so far out-running the supply that some other person would soon have drilled for petroleum had Drake not done so. Illuminating oil was already being profitably produced from coal and shale. Simple refining techniques were well known. Secondly, a historian of the oil industry can only lament that the compiler of these documents must, for reasons of time and the accessibility of material, limit himself to the oil regions of Pennsylvania. A comprehensive history of the industry has never been written. Almost every state in the Union had its searchers for oil in the 1860's, and many foreign nations, notably Russia, soon became important producers of petroleum and its products. Much of that early activity was directed at a local market, but it is a part of the history of the industry, nevertheless. In terms of functions the industry includes exploration, production of crude, storage, transportation, refining, and marketing. The market is the whole world and the products range from kerosene and gasoline to candles, vaseline, fuel oil, a wide variety of lubricants, and a host of other items. In the foregoing remarks there is no intent to belittle the value of the collection. On the contrary, the documents are a significant contribution to the history of one of the most important industries in the United States. It is to be hoped that other authors will soon see fit to add historical information on other segments of the industry.

R. W. HINDY, *Forest Hills, New York*

CAREY THOMAS OF BRYN MAWR. By *Edith Finch*. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. viii, 342, \$3.50.) Though this book has so far not been greatly acclaimed, it seems to the present reviewer to be a remarkable achievement—an extraordinary biography of an extraordinary woman which illuminates an epoch in the history of feminism and makes an important contribution to the history of Bryn Mawr College. Though it is a work done on commission, it is executed with such honesty and candor, and on the basis of such adequate documentation, that we believe those who knew Miss Thomas best and longest must acknowledge it to be in almost all respects valid. At only one point would we suggest any qualification of this sweeping praise. As an administrator Miss Thomas was an autocrat and her methods finally provoked a revolt of her faculty which was so far successful as to strip her of a good part of her power and bring in constitutional rule under a so-called plan of government. Members of the faculty who lived through this revolution and participated in it will perhaps feel that at this point the biographer has in some degree stayed her hand; yet it must be acknowledged that this singular humiliation of Miss Thomas is handled with remarkable freedom from special pleading. In short, the book, while fully representing the great qualities of Miss Thomas as the leader in the feminist movement and as a dominant factor in secularizing Bryn Mawr and committing it to the high intellectual standards that have prevailed there, gives equal place to her faults and limitations. There is no whitewashing anywhere. Miss Finch writes in a simple and vivid style which carries the reader forward with compelling interest through a strenuous life of incessant activity. Always the motivation of this activity is the same—the cause of woman as Miss Thomas saw it, the struggle for economic

emancipation and equality with man. Hers was a colorful figure around which legends gathered. These all find their way into this small volume, God knows how, so that to read it is to live once more in the Bryn Mawr circle and to share in the college life.

CHARLES W. DAVID, *Rosemont, Pennsylvania*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE HATFIELDS AND THE MCCOYS. By *Virgil Carrington Jones*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1948, pp. xiii, 293, \$3.75.) Kentucky is famous for several things, feuds being one of them, and the Hatfield and McCoy feud is the most famous of them all. It is a mistake, however, to ascribe to Kentucky sole ownership of the feud, for, when the western counties of Virginia, prize of the Civil War, were set up as the state of West Virginia, the boundary between the new state and Kentucky was the Tug River. Spread out along the West Virginia side was the prolific family of Hatfield, espousing the Confederate cause, while the similarly prolific family of McCoy, who had clung to the Union cause, were settled on the Kentucky side of the river. The "bad blood" between the two families may have taken rise in that era of parturition. The first positive outbreak, however, is said to have originated in the transmogrified earmarkings of a certain razorback sow in 1873. That sufficed to get

the feud well started. In 1880, however, a Montagu-Capulet complex developed between a Hatfield and a McCoy—and thereafter no holds were barred. The hot passions of the antagonists were profoundly stirred, while aiding and abetting provocations lent fuel to the flames. Like most wars, origins tended to be forgotten, while objectives widened with time. Originating as a private war, it for the most part remained such, although it eventually involved both states, reluctant always to assume responsibility, and one case even went to the Supreme Court of the United States. The leader for many years of the Hatfield clan was William Anderson, known to fame as “Devil Anse” Hatfield, sometime captain in the Confederate service; at the head of the McCoy faction was Randolph McCoy, although the active leadership in later years was passed on to sons of each. For each could boast of nine sons and four daughters and each could draw recruits from numerous kindred and alliances. Not all by any means of the eighteen sons bit the dust before arms were stacked. The most violent period of the war was in the decade from 1880 to 1890 followed by an interlude of peace, then a brief renewal of the war in 1896–1897. Followed a period of some twenty years when private wars gave place to industrial wars. Then, just as World War I was closing, “Devil Anse” Hatfield and two of his sons made a profession of religion and retired definitely from the feud business. About the same time “Old Man McCoy” was brought to death’s door and entered, still “a-cussin’” the Hatfields. (And who can blame him? He had suffered at the hands of the Hatfields two of the direst tragedies of the entire feud.) “Devil Anse” Hatfield died only on January 8, 1921, but it was seven years later (1928) that a handclasp between the oldest son of Randolph McCoy and the youngest son of “Devil Anse” Hatfield seemed to close the breach opened between the two families fifty-five years before. It is sufficient to say of the author that he has done a magnificent job in trailing the intricacies and complexities of the feud through more than half a century of unrecorded “shootings.” Particularly has he redeemed the story of Rose Anne McCoy, the Juliet of the vendetta, and her cousin Nancy, from the labyrinthine tangle of romance and placed them in historical perspective.

EDMUND C. BURNETT, *Washington, D. C.*

RECORDS OF THE MORAVIANS IN NORTH CAROLINA. Edited by *Adelaide L. Fries*, Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume VII, 1809–1822. [Publications of the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History.] (Raleigh, Department of Archives and History, 1947, pp. x, 3021–3612.) A highly detailed account of the day-by-day life of a small group of people, *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* is an interesting though limited document. It is made up of extracts from diaries and papers covering the years 1809 through 1822, and hence is valuable as a primary source of information. The records begin with the travel diary of the Reverend Ludwig David von Schweinitz, which tells of his hazardous journey on the high seas during the first year of the War of 1812 when he returned from Europe to become the pastor of Salem, and administrator of Wachovia. The subsequent records reveal a significant transition period in the lives of the Moravians. Outstanding among these changes were the progressive attitudes toward Negroes, Indians, education, and rules and regulations of the Unity; and the beginning of the abrogation of the lease system in Wachovia whereby the church lost the power of complete residential control. The fine editorial comment, diffused throughout, clarifies the material and places the records in their historical setting. Though tedious with detail, the book is revealing in the rounded picture it gives of the living experiences of the Moravians in North Carolina.

ETHEL STEPHENS ARNETT, *Greensboro, North Carolina*

EL SAL DEL REY. By *Wallace Hawkins*. (Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 1947, pp. ix, 68.) Texas, by retaining control over its own public lands on annexation, assured the continuation of certain basic features of the Spanish land system. Outstanding among these features was the separation of mineral rights from surface ownership. This separation dated from a royal decree of 1784 that reserved to the crown not only all precious minerals and stones but also the base minerals including salt. When Spanish grants were confirmed by American courts, it was held that the act of confirmation transferred to the grantee all original rights plus ownership of minerals. In Texas, however, where all such grants remained subject to state procedure, the mineral rights were not included. While independent, Texas had authorized landowners to work mines on a royalty basis, and during the confederacy the state operated salt mines on land privately owned through concessionaires. Despite these acknowledgments of the continuation of state ownership, dispute arose over the rights to salt deposits in El Sal del Rey. Wallace Hawkins traces the intricate pattern of this dispute and shows how it led to the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution in 1866 that released to existing owners of the soil "all mines and mineral substances that may be on the same. . . ." A substitute amendment to apply prospectively, he maintains, would have prevented the great benefits the state and its university have derived from royalties on land the subsoil rights of which vest in the public.

PAUL W. GATES, *Cornell University*

ANSON JONES: THE LAST PRESIDENT OF TEXAS. By *Herbert Gambrell*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1948, pp. viii, 462, \$5.00.) Anson Jones became a Texan following a long, almost uninterrupted succession of failures. His last failure consisted of missing the ship that was to have taken him back to the United States. Thus it was that one of the early M.D.'s from Philadelphia's young but aggressive Jefferson Medical College settled in Mexican Texas. He organized frontier fraternal lodges to meet prospective patients. They turned out to be even more enthusiastic voters. It put him on the path to the Texan presidency. Between the time Dr. Jones missed the boat, 1833, when Texas was part of Mexico, and annexation to the United States, he was either a minor or major actor in the great frontier drama of Texas. At San Jacinto he alternated between being a regimental surgeon and a buck private. But it was only as a souvenir collector that he achieved battlefield distinction. It was he who salvaged the now famous diary of Colonel Juan N. Almonte, of Santa Anna's staff. After San Jacinto and concurrent with his growing medical practice, Dr. Jones served as a member of the lower house of the Texan congress, as minister to the United States, as senator, as secretary of state during President Sam Houston's second term, and finally as president, a station he achieved just in time for annexation. Dr. Gambrell's book is not only delightful reading but his subject gives exceptional opportunity for a detailed treatment of a too often neglected chapter of Texan history. No other single narrative gives such intimate detail of the internal cliques, quasi-political parties, and rugged personalities that constituted the internal politics of the buckskin-fringed and powder-stained Lone Star Republic. The bibliography and index are fully adequate to the scope of the narrative. The book is not documented, but the author clings so close to the sources and is so lavish with long quotations, most of which are identified in the text, that the book does not suffer materially on this score. Indeed, from a literary standpoint, a minor criticism one could make is that the author too often trusts the words of the sources to tell the story. He often seems to feel he cannot improve upon their narrative. At times these too frequent, overly long quotations needlessly interrupt the otherwise smooth flow of the story. This modesty on the part of the author is not



necessary. Those chapters in which extracts are well subordinated to the author's own words reveal a literary style and a power for accurate, analytical storytelling that should make him more independent of the paragraphs of others. The book as it stands is a major contribution to western history.

JIM DAN HILL, *State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin*

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## WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

THE CONQUEST OF THE WEST. By *Walter F. McCaleb*. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1947, pp. xiv, 336, \$3.75.) Western history from 1803 to 1850 is dramatic and fast moving, embracing within its scope international intrigue, border war, colonization, filibustering, and exploration. Out of its many colorful events came occupation of the West by Anglo-Americans and the rounding out of the United States continental boundaries. For many decades researchers and writers have sought to capture the significance of western development, filling in here and there as new papers and materials are found. Among those already known for their general accounts of the westward movement are Robert M. McElroy, George P. Garrison, Cardinal Goodwin, W. J. Ghent, Robert Riegel, Dan Clark, LeRoy Hafen, and Carl Coke Rister. Now comes Walter F. McCaleb with his *Conquest of the West*, in the "Prologue" of which appears this surprising statement: "no historian has essayed to deal with the Westward movement as a whole" (p. xi)! Mr. McCaleb's new book adds little to western history, although numerous quotations (fourteen on pp. 172-80) reveal some new materials. The author devotes much space to Texas colonization and revolution, the Mexican War, and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but comparatively little to the winning of the northern half of the Great West. For the most part *The Conquest of the West* is well written, but occasionally there occur clumsy expressions, e.g., "the anger developed by Napoleon" (p. 7); "190 of the citizens" (p. 43); and "it was thought by McLane" (p. 214); etc. Then one finds unsupported generalizations, such as Jefferson's imperialistic designs (pp. 36-37); "the gang in control of the Bank of the United States" (p. 146); etc. There are also harsh characterizations, e.g., "Santa Anna had murdered the Texans" (p. 109); "the fawning hand of the double-dyed villain" (p. 135) and "Webster . . . an inveterate enemy of Texas" (p. 181). There are errors, too, e.g., Manzanet (Damiam Massanet?) (p. 29); Seven Cities of Coronado (Seven Cities of Cibola) (p. 30); lower settlements of New Mexico (p. 157); and Cimmaron (Cimarron) (p. 162). Generally, however, the book is an addition to western Americana. The publisher has fashioned it into a pleasing format.

CARL COKE RISTER, *University of Oklahoma*

DUCKTOWN BACK IN RAHT'S TIME. By *R. E. Barclay*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. xiii, 286, \$5.00.) Ducktown was a Cherokee Indian town in the southeastern corner of Tennessee. After the removal of the Indians in the late 1830's the name was applied to a mountain-rimmed region, known also as Ducktown Basin or the Great Copper Basin, that lay mostly in Tennessee but extended a few miles into northern Georgia. In this region were valuable copper deposits. This book is a history of the Ducktown Basin, chiefly for the period from about 1850 when the mining of copper was begun until 1878 when the mines were closed. In large part, it is the history of a community that was dominated by one industry, copper, and by one man, Julius Eckhardt Raht. Raht obtained employment in Ducktown as a mine captain in 1854. By 1860, at the age of thirty-four, he was superintendent of each of the three companies that together constituted almost the whole of Ducktown's copper industry; he owned the commissaries that dominated the commercial life of the community, the accounts of the miners being paid by the companies from the miners' wages; and he was an extensive landowner, producing much that was sold in his commissaries. Later he became a banker. By 1878 many millions of pounds of copper had been taken from the Ducktown mines, but the mining companies were bankrupt and the mines were closed. Raht, nevertheless, had become "the richest man in Tennessee." Mr. Barclay's book is based to a very considerable extent on Raht's

personal papers. It is a useful contribution to an understanding of the development of industry in the South.  
 PHILIP M. HAMER, *Washington, D. C.*

THE ECONOMIC RIVALRY BETWEEN ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO, 1850-1880.

By *Wyatt Winton Belcher*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 529.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 223, \$3.00.) This is a detailed but nevertheless readable account of the rivalry between two distinguished American cities during their early and formative years. The author sets forth the characteristics of the two cities, the business leadership in each of them, their rivalry for western trade, the impact and aftermath of the Civil War, the renewal of the rivalry, and finally the victory of Chicago. A vital part of the story is, of course, the dependence of St. Louis on its river connections and the eager development of railroads by Chicago. In American history local and regional rivalry has long been a tiresome diversion of the people concerned. It has been a mingling of fact and fancy and at times it almost appears to have been a provincial substitute for an interest in the great national and cultural rivalries of the world at large. And yet, down beneath the surface of the strife have been buried many of the great efforts of men searching for home and fortune. Dr. Belcher gives no mystical explanation of Chicago's success. He finds it to be a mingling of the planning and energy of the people in Chicago and the favorable geographical and economic background of that Windy City. It is good for us to have the factors in this success so fully set forth, even to the extent of repetition, for such factors have made the world of business go round. In a doctoral dissertation, such as this, printed for public use, it would have been helpful to the reader if the analogy of other rivalries, both at home and abroad, had been set forth. As it is, the book is a severely factual presentation of an important subject over a period of only thirty years. Why stop at 1880? Of course, the victory was won by that time, but the two cities kept on their individual courses. The book is confined rather severely to the field and to the vein of American history. The contributions of economic historians have not been fully drawn upon. An analysis of the market areas has not been used. The possible contributions of business history have been passed over. For instance, the author emphasizes the conservatism of St. Louis businessmen and the daring enterprise of Chicago without seeing that in the case of St. Louis the dominant early influence was mercantile capitalism, while in the case of Chicago it was industrial capitalism. St. Louis not only was wedded to water transportation and north-south traffic but it had sprung from the loins of European mercantile capitalism, in which careful management and strict control were the order of the day. On the other hand, Chicago was born in, and of, the American spirit and in early days knew no other system than industrial capitalism, which meant the bold exploitation of business through large specialized units always reaching out beyond the immediate resources at hand, often ending in bankruptcy but starting up again and finally attaining a stabilized success. Chapter VII, "Business Leadership of the Two Cities," might be rewritten in the light of business history.  
 N. S. B. GRAS, *Harvard University*

INDIANA: AN INTERPRETATION. By *John Bartlow Martin*. (New York, Alfred A.

Knopf, 1947, pp. xii, 300, xvii, \$4.00.) Good old rural virtues, friendly hospitality, and faith in ordinary people are being obscured even in Indiana by industrialization, ignorance, racial hatred, and intolerance. The twenties of the present century, when Klansmen and isolationists rode rampant, are contrasted with the traditional picture of early days to warn Indianans and the nation at large of the evils of the present. The author fears a return of the twenties. He believes that Indiana is typical of the nation and that his analysis has national significance. His criticism or interpretation,

however, is not based on a thorough knowledge of the state. His description of its settlement and the formation of its political life is faulty: Several factors of present-day civilization do not seem to have entered into his thinking. Churches, institutions of social welfare, musical and other artistic organizations, and schools, colleges, and universities are given little attention. His choice of prominent men, whose lives are sketched and around whom the book is constructed, are not representative. If the careers of such men as William D. Foulke, T. C. Steele, J. Frank Hanley, William Lowe Bryan, J. K. Lilly, and Paul G. Hoffman were substituted for those of D. C. Stephenson, Court Asher, and Ned Gorrell, the book would be very different and more representative of the state. The entire book appears to have been hurried and poorly digested. It is not "regional writing at its best," as the publishers advertise. It is not even regional, and the style is not as fluent as one expects from a journalist. It deserves to be read, particularly by Hoosiers, for there is some truth in its contention. Its criticism of certain phases of modern life is valid. It ranks higher as criticism than as an interpretation. It scarcely deserves to be considered as a historical work, except that it will take its place among contemporary opinions of recent trends.

JOHN D. BARNHART, *Indiana University*

A HISTORY OF INDIANA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. By *William O. Lynch*. (Terre Haute, Indiana State Teachers College, 1946, pp. 438.) This catalogic volume, studded with names, dates, and footnotes, looks like a compiled source rather than a synthesized account. The reader who is not discouraged by appearances, however, will soon discover that it is a very human and readable book. Things do happen. Crooks steal from the Common School Fund (p. 8). "A fossilized old pedagogue . . . forty years behind the times" is fired (p. 35). A student in a course on morals proves in a long essay that he learned nothing from the course (p. 37). A theorizing teacher of mathematics who could not reach long division was also fired (p. 48). Mary A. Bruce transforms grammar into a course in logic and abstract reasoning (p. 59). The old battle of content versus method is joined (pp. 62-64). The president's salary is cut (p. 75). A cabal of professors makes life miserable for President Brown (p. 93). Lucy M. Salmon can not endure the educational atmosphere (p. 103). Matrimony interferes with the development of the profession (p. 115). The main building burns (p. 125). A professor is fired and the students rebel (p. 139). President Hines bans a chapter of the American Association of University Professors (p. 326). These episodes and the unsightly board fence, the unkempt yard, the student boarding clubs, the wavering enrollment, the continued shifts in the faculty, the patient co-operation of numerous professors, and the growing influence of the school make this book a human document. Since its founding in 1870 the Indiana State Teachers College has had some great leaders and distinguished graduates. The first president, William A. Jones, was a pedagogue of power. William W. Parsons was president from 1885 to 1921 and brought some outstanding men to the campus. William H. Mace, Denton J. Snider, William T. Harris, Joseph Carhart, and other persons of importance appear in these pages. The author himself was a student and subsequently a member of the faculty at Terre Haute. The book is a useful contribution to the history of education. If every teacher training institution had as reliable and as readable a history, the cause of American education would be greatly promoted.

EDGAR B. WESLEY, *University of Minnesota*

SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WISCONSIN HISTORY. Compiled by *Leroy Schlin-kert*. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1947, pp. xvii, 213, \$3.60.) The compiler of this Wisconsin guide in a subject arrangement has brought together

the popular and more accessible references to serve the general reader and student. In this centennial year it is a most timely publication. The subject divisions used follow those of the *Reference Guide to Iowa History* prepared by Dr. William Peterson. The quality and number of references for various topics differ widely. For instance, nine pages are devoted to the Civil War and only three pages to the two world wars. Black Hawk and Black Hawk's war has almost as many references as the two world wars. The guide is reasonably full on strictly Wisconsin subjects and less so on subjects that have a broader geography. Students of local history, editors, and writers will find the forty pages devoted to county, municipal, and local histories especially convenient. Except for binding, the work meets the high editorial and publication standards that characterize the Wisconsin society.

J. L. SELLERS, *University of Nebraska*

FRONTIER PARSONAGE: THE LETTERS OF OLAUS FREDRIK DUUS, NORWEGIAN PASTOR IN WISCONSIN, 1855-1858. Translated by the Verdandi Study Club of Minneapolis and edited by *Theodore C. Blegen*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, Volume IV.] (Northfield, Minn., the Association, 1947, pp. x, 120, \$2.50.) In his "American letters" the Reverend Olaus Duus gave his Norwegian relatives intimate pictures of church and family life on the Wisconsin frontier during the 1850's. Despite his varied activities as preacher, farmer, land speculator, teacher, and amateur practitioner of medicine he was a lonely man. Only rarely did he have the opportunity to meet other Norwegian ministers with whom he could share his interests and discuss common problems. Correspondence with friends and relatives in the old home land therefore became a spiritual and intellectual necessity. He continually urged his relatives to keep him informed of developments in Norway; in his replies he chronicled interesting details of life in his parish and his home out on the frontier. Hence from these letters we gain not only insight into the problems an immigrant pastor had to face while building a pioneer church but we also get numerous sketches of childhood life in a new community and learn about the activities of the *prestefruer* (ministers' wives) who helped make the scattered frontier parsonages centers of culture and refinement. During his brief stay in Wisconsin Pastor Duus merely became acquainted with the surface phenomena of American life, and what he saw did not please him. According to his letters manners were raw; materialism was rife with the "American God 'money'" holding the "scepter of righteousness"; under the "beautiful republican conditions" the "worst scoundrels and the most shameless men" were elected to office, as a result of which there was "so little honesty and authority that one shudders"; with religion prohibited in the public schools and numerous sects, "each one worse than the other," struggling for supremacy, religious conditions were "really terrible." Even from an economic standpoint he felt that only those who were quite destitute would improve their conditions by coming to America. Such being his views we are not surprised that Pastor Duus was reluctant to have his children grow up as Americans. He was constantly torn between the desire to return to Norway and his sense of duty toward the struggling Lutheran church in the Middle West. But shortly after his wife's death in 1859 he left for his home land where, in the course of time, he occupied several important ecclesiastical positions.

C. A. CLAUSEN, *University of Minnesota*

TIME IN THE TIMBER. By *C. M. Oehler*. [Forest Products History Foundation Series, Publication No. 2.] (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948, pp. 56, \$1.00.) This brochure is a publication of the Forest Products History Foundation sponsored by the Minnesota Historical Society under the direction of Dr. Rodney C. Loehr. It is a lively account of life in a lumber camp in 1928, when the author was camp clerk.

ARKANSAS. By *John Gould Fletcher*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947, pp. x, 421, \$5.00.) This is hardly the history of a state nor does it purport to be, though it contains much of history. Rather it is the interpretation of a commonwealth that has been much misunderstood and all too little appreciated by most persons outside its borders and even by many of its own citizens. In twenty-three chapters each filled with human interest, the author reveals the spirit of the state of his birth and the roots from which such a spirit has grown. It must have been no easy task, for Arkansas, far more than most states of the Union, presents a series of paradoxes. It is a land of wide variations of topography and climate and correspondingly wide differences in the people who make up its citizenship. In consequence, the pattern of society is both colorful and highly complex. The author begins with a brief survey of the land after which he relates in interesting, and at times humorous, fashion the story of the coming of the Spanish gold seekers, the French trappers, and the Cherokee Indians moving westward in their long trek to occupy for some ten years a large area in the northwestern portion of the state. Then is given the story of the coming of white settlers, the formation of a territorial government and the achievement of statehood. Some account is given of the fine Arkansas gentlemen of ante bellum days and of the tragedy of war and the equally great tragedy of Reconstruction. Perhaps more space is given to the local civil strife of 1874 than the average reader outside Arkansas will think is justified, interesting as the account of this comic opera political civil war may be. The description of the rise and fall of the Arkansas leader, Jeff Davis, is also a colorful story but most readers will find more enlightening the chapters on the "World of the Mountaineer," the "Sharecropper's World," and "Rice Enriches the Prairie." The volume is concluded with some discussion of the wealth which has come to the state through the production of oil and bauxite and of the outlook of the state and its people for the future. Doubtless an interesting chapter could have been added on the relationships of the people along the western border with their red neighbors, the Cherokees and Choctaws of Indian Territory, but obviously there are limits to what can be included in a single volume. This is a fascinating book to read and the author has done much toward giving us a better understanding of a most interesting commonwealth. EDWARD EVERETT DALE, *University of Oklahoma*

CHINA TRADE DAYS IN CALIFORNIA: SELECTED LETTERS FROM THE THOMPSON PAPERS, 1832-1863. Edited by *D. Mackenzie Brown*. With a Foreword by Robert Glass Cleland. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947, pp. xvii, 94, \$3.00.) This well-edited and attractively printed little book comprises twenty-five letters from a collection in the Santa Barbara Historical Society. Alpheus B. Thompson, born in Topsham, Maine, in 1797, went to old Canton in 1821, thence to Oahu, and then settled in California. He married into the Carillo family of Santa Barbara and engaged in trading operations. These business and family letters supply interesting details of trades in furs and hides, chiefly with the Hawaiian Islands though with some reference to the China market in the years after 1832. In these relatively small transactions Thompson and other members of his family exchanged California produce for commodities such as food and textiles for the local market. There are glimpses of how the wealthy Spanish families and the missions managed to hold themselves together and survive during the uncertain times of the Texas revolution, the Mexican War, American annexation, and the gold rush. While not contributing as much information as the title seems to imply about the China trade, they illuminate California life of the period and show how Yankee blood mixed with the Spanish to give to some California families a new, picturesque, and quite distinctive character.

TYLER DENNETT, *Hague, New York*

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## Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham

#### GENERAL

- LATIN AMERICA: AN HISTORICAL SURVEY. By John Francis Bannon, S.J., Associate Professor of History, Saint Louis University, and Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., Professor of History, University of San Francisco. [Science and Culture Texts.]



(Milwaukee, Bruce, 1947, pp. x, 944, \$6.50.) With this volume, two North American padres have added a useful textbook to the list of those already available for survey courses in Latin-American history. Conventional in organization and scope, it is divided almost equally into the two traditional sections, colonial and national. The authors are to be commended for having included a fuller account of the church than is generally encountered in a textbook. Approaching this difficult problem sympathetically, but not as apologists, they have presented a balanced picture of both the good and the bad aspects of church history. Adverse criticism, when warranted, has been administered. On the other hand, the contributions of the church have been placed in their proper perspective. The least satisfying chapters are those dealing with international affairs. The discussion of the Monroe Doctrine could be improved by distinguishing more sharply between the Holy Alliance of Tsar Alexander I and the system adopted after the defeat of Napoleon to preserve order and stability in Europe. British trade interests could have been emphasized as determining factors in the foreign policy of George Canning. In the treatment of the Lodge Corollary it should be noted particularly that the area involved was Magdalena Bay in Lower California and not "Magdalena Island in the South Pacific Marquesas" (p. 826). Maximilian did not enter Mexico City in 1863 (p. 823), nor did the American envoys to the Panama Congress of 1826 arrive "when the convention was all over" (p. 841). Although the work is marred by a few typographical errors (pp. 270, 359, 762, 763, 812) and differences in interpretation will arise, the careful reader will find that Father Bannon and Father Dunne have included in this substantial volume most of the essential materials for a survey course in Latin-American history. The logical organization and clear prose style, the abundant maps, chronological tables, and reading lists will be helpful to teacher and pupil alike. The authors did not set out to do a piece of original research. Instead, their goal was a practical textbook of college caliber, incorporating the best work of other scholars and their own conclusions on the church. In this task, they have succeeded.

W. DONALD BEATTY, *University of Minnesota*

A SARMIENTO ANTHOLOGY. Translated from the Spanish by *Stuart Edgar Grummon*. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by *Allison Williams Bunkley*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. 337, \$5.00.) Written for the English reader, the book meets all requirements: a factual and carefully developed introduction, wise selections, and excellent translation. Of primary importance is an analysis of the author and his works. The introduction fills in this gap, presenting the two fissures (political and cultural) in Argentine history in relationship to Sarmiento. The discussion of Sarmiento's life traces the development of his ideas. From a period of self education came the belief in education and enlightenment as tools of progress. In exile these ideas matured. Travel confirmed Sarmiento's conceptions of democracy and gauchocracy. After a period of victory came the repudiation. All major reforms, including the destruction of gauchocracy, came to naught. The secondary reforms, especially education, lasted. To present the thought of Sarmiento in one volume is no small task. The passages selected, in collaboration with Madaline W. Nichols, are a fitting complement to the analysis of the introduction. Selections from *Provincial Recollections* present the early influences of individuals and give an idea of his style at best. Passages from *Facundo*, novelistic-memoir-biography, show the effect of general environment and the beginning of socio-political thought. Other selections translated deal with journalism, the United States, education, and politics. These contain the solutions, as Sarmiento saw them, for the political and social ills of the Argentine. Sarmiento was never aware of the contradiction between his literary and political

ideas—hence the enigma of his life and thought. The introduction closes with a delineation of democracy and gauchocracy. Credit is due Stuart Edgar Grummon for a splendid translation. Slight changes do not alter the spirit of the original. To the English reader this is most important, for only through translation may he reach a comprehension of an early "Good Neighbor" and, in turn, a partial understanding of the Argentine.

MARGARET V. CAMPBELL, *Florida State University*

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# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

THE committees on program and local arrangements are well advanced in their preparations for the annual meeting in Washington on December 28, 29, and 30. The headquarters hotel will be the Mayflower.

The attention of readers is called to a new section in this issue, "Books Received" (see p. 919 above). It includes both books to be reviewed and those titles hitherto entered in the various sections by title. This last category will not be carried in the annual index.

## Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: photostat of a document signed by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, directing the destruction of a fortress then being built near the city of Logroño, September 7, 1493; manuscript copy and translation into English of the appendix to Giovanni Battista Riccioli's *Geographiae et hydrographiae reformatae* with a statement as to the variations between the 1661 and 1672 editions, and notes on Riccioli and his work by Dr. Walter F. Willcox; petition of Owanoke [Owaneko], sachem of the Monhegan Indians of Connecticut, to Queen Anne, signed "Owanoke his mark," July 14, 1703; volume of contemporary abstracts, in various hands, of the records of the Principio Iron Works, 1720 to 1758 and 1789; microfilm and enlargement prints of a lettercopy book of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739 to 1743 and 1758 to 1762; official order for transportation of four felons from England to the colonies in America, dated at Bristol, September 18, 1754; power of attorney from the executrix of the estate of James Buchanan, London merchant, to collect debts due him in the Province of Maryland, April 13, 1762; eleven manuscripts relating to the Dismal Swamp Company, five of which are copies in George Washington's autograph, 1763 to 1785; autograph letter from George Washington to [Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress], July 11, 1778; five brief autograph letters from Alexander Hamilton to [General Henry Knox], requesting reports on available equipment and supplies, January 30 to July 22, 1780; three volumes of correspondence, mainly family letters, of William Lee [*ca.* 1770 to 1840] and his wife, Susan Palfrey Lee, March 19, 1786, to March 30, 1840; eighteen boxes of papers of John R. Latimer, including personal correspondence, and business papers relating to his commercial transactions between the United States and Canton, and between Canton and India, *ca.* 1817 to 1834; about 30,000

papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, American landscape architect and city planner, *ca.* 1819 to 1923; autograph letter from Andrew Jackson to James Ronaldson, December 18, 1827; autograph letter from Peter Force "To the Hon. Cave Johnson, and F.O.J. Smith, of the Committee of Ways and Means," May 10, 1836; seven diaries of Brigadier General Sylvester Churchill, covering his service as inspector general of the Creek Indians as well as his activities, with General Wool, in the war with Mexico, 1836 to 1856; autograph letter from Dorothy Payne Madison to her niece, Caroline Hite, July 7, 1838; autograph memorandum by Peter Force of answers he supplied to questions about the "Documentary History" to a committee of Congress, June 23, 1840; journal of Zephaniah Turner, kept during a voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco, via Cape Horn, as a passenger on the *Golden Racer*, March 23 to August 9, 1854; additional papers of General James W. Latta, including commissions signed by Abraham Lincoln and by Andrew Johnson, 1856 to 1899, and eight diaries of General Latta, 1857 to 1859 and 1861 to 1865; autograph letter from Hinton Rowan Helper to Frank W. Ballard, December 11, 1860; five autograph letters of Robert E. Lee, March 26, 1863 to April 29, 1868; fifteen letters exchanged by Horatio King mainly with Joseph Holt, judge advocate general, and General T. M. Harris, one of the judges, at the Surratt trial, September 23, 1883 to August 9, 1894; three autograph letters from William T. Sherman to Horatio King, February 25 and March 27, 1884 and March 16, 1886; four boxes of papers of Major General Henry W. Lawton, *ca.* 1861 to 1899, including commissions and other military papers and correspondence relating to the campaign against the Apaches in Arizona and New Mexico and the surrender of Geronimo and Natchez, May to September, 1886; additional papers of Anita Newcomb McGee, including family and professional correspondence, *ca.* 1888 to 1931; three letters from General Joseph Wheeler to Mrs. W. M. Easby-Smith, describing the siege and capitulation of the Spanish at Santiago, June 23, July 16, and July 17, 1898; autograph letter from Woodrow Wilson to Mrs. James A. Hoyt, and two typescript letters, signed, to James A. Hoyt, 1901 to 1911; volume of resolutions against the sale of the so-called friar lands in the Philippine Islands, addressed to the Congress of the United States, with signatures of over twelve thousand citizens of the islands, May 22 to December 5, 1910; additional papers of May Robson, 1911 to 1944; photostat of letter from Robert Todd Lincoln to Cordelia Jackson, August 3, 1918; eleven boxes [the first shipment] of the papers of William G. McAdoo, *ca.* 1923 to 1941; two boxes of papers relating to the Federal Power Commission, including "Foreign Power Studies" and publicity scrapbooks on the World Power Conference, 1930; papers of the National Policy Association, *ca.* 1935 to 1947; autograph manuscript of the Life of Christopher Columbus by Salvador de Madariaga, published in London, 1939.

The Philadelphia Bibliographical Center and Union Library Catalogue, as well as maintaining the usual records and services of a regional union catalogue,

is the publisher of the *Union List of Microfilms*, now a catalogue which provides alphabetical lists, in consecutive numerical order, of all reported microfilming in the United States and Canada. The *Union List* at present is available only in the form of a *Basic List* and five supplements (1942-47), but the Center is now engaged in the preparation of a second, cumulated edition of this work, which is to include also all filming reported since the appearance of supplement 5, in June, 1947. It is expected that a total of approximately 20,000 entries will appear in this second edition, which is hoped for early in 1949.

The Index to Early American Periodical Literature at New York University is now being reorganized with the help of a well-trained graduate assistant. American magazines, especially of a literary and cultural character, have been covered with reasonable thoroughness up to 1850, with a scattering of references after that date. There is much material of interest to those working in the field of American history. All communications should be addressed to the Director of the Libraries, New York University, Washington Square, New York. Those desiring to consult the index in person should make arrangements in advance with the director.

Daniel C. Haskell of the New York Public Library and Louis Kaplan of the University of Wisconsin Library are compiling a comprehensive bibliography of American autobiographies.

Swarthmore College has recently issued a guide to the peace collection which was established when Jane Addams in 1930 gave her papers to the college. The papers of other peace workers and peace organizations have been added. Books and pamphlets supplement the archival material. The library of Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania) solicits the deposit of papers appropriate to such a collection.

The first issue of a quarterly bibliography, *Documents of International Organizations*, appeared in November, 1947. A selected bibliography limited entirely to official documents, it is published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, Massachusetts, and the annual subscription rate is \$2.50 post free.

In March appeared Volume I, No. 1 of the *French American Review*, a quarterly published by the Institut Français de Washington. The purpose of the *Review*, as set forth in this initial number, is "to provide the general public as well as professional historians with significant data [in the field of French American relations] through the publication of documents and studies both in French and in English." Articles in this issue are listed in the appropriate places in the bibliography sections above. Subscriptions (\$4.00 per year) should be addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer, 401 Michigan Avenue N.E., Washington 17, D. C.

The first issue of a new English historical periodical appeared in 1947—the *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*. The editor is Mr. Philip Styles, lecturer in English history. The scope and purpose of the *Journal* is thus phrased by the editors: “The *Journal* has been established for the publication of historical research by past and present members of the University. It will be issued annually, at the price of 10s. 6d., at the beginning of the Autumn Term. Its scope will not be limited to any period or aspect of history, though one article in each number will deal with the history of the Midlands. Texts of historical documents will also be published from time to time. New publications, however, will not be reviewed.”

“The Upper Midwest” is the title of a mimeographed bulletin of the Minnesota Historical Society. It contains four exceptionally suggestive papers on the historical problems and European backgrounds of the area by A. C. Krey, Ernest Osgood, C. C. Qualey, and Grace Lee Nute. The papers were read at the Upper Midwest History Conference in Minneapolis, October 31, 1947. As Dean Theodore Blegen says in his introduction, “they set a high standard for future conferences.”

The Hansard Society, a nonparty, nonprofit-making society founded in 1944 to spread information about parliamentary institutions, is the publisher of books and pamphlets upon the institution of Parliament and also produces a quarterly periodical, *Parliamentary Affairs*, devoted to authoritative articles by experts in the sphere of representative government. In addition to its publications the Society has established a research department for the service of scholars, research workers, and others interested in the subject. Full membership in the Society is \$5.00 a year and entitles members to free copies of all publications and the use of research services. Communications should be addressed to the Secretary of the Society, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, London, S.W.1.

A volume of miscellaneous essays is soon to be published in honor of Professor Gino Luzzatto, rector of the University of Venice and one of Italy's foremost economic and social historians. The volume will contain contributions from scholars of various countries including the United States. Subscriptions may be sent to Professor Domenico Demarco, Via Torino, 6, Naples, Italy.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania invited forty-two scholars to a conference in Philadelphia to discuss the question, “Do we need a ‘New History’ of American Political Democracy?” The papers and discussion, with an introduction by Professor Roy F. Nichols, are published in the April issue of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. The papers are listed in the United States history section of this issue of the *Review*, but their significance will be understood better when the whole group is before the reader. The price of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* is \$1.25 for a single issue, and the editorial office is at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia 7.

"The Plain People of the Old South," was the title of the tenth series of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the graduate school and the department of history of Louisiana State University, and delivered by Professor Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University on April 12-14.

A series of activities commemorating the Revolution of 1848 was held in New York, beginning on February 27 and extending through the first week in April. Planned and initiated by Professor Boris Mirkine-Guetzévitch, president of the Historical Society of the French Revolution and dean of the faculty of law and political science of the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes of New York, in co-operation with Professor René de Messières, cultural counsellor of the French embassy in New York and vice-president of the society, the programs included lectures in both French and English on a wide variety of subjects relating to the Revolution of 1848 as well as an exhibition of pictures, documents, and books loaned for the occasion.

The Institut Byzantin, 4, rue de Lille, Paris VII, announces that the International Congress of Byzantine Studies will hold its sixth and seventh meetings this summer. The sixth session will be in Paris, July 27 to August 2. The seventh session meets in Brussels, August 4-14.

Under the terms of the Fulbright Act, a Board of Foreign Scholarships has been charged with the responsibility of selecting individuals and institutions which will participate under the act and with the supervision of the exchange program. The board is composed of individuals representing a wide range of educational and cultural interests in addition to representatives of the government agencies most concerned. The announcement says: "The Board has delegated responsibility for preliminary screening of applicants for grants to three agencies: (1) The Institute of International Education for those wishing to study in foreign institutions, primarily at the graduate level; (2) The Office of Education for those wishing to teach abroad in national elementary and secondary schools; (3) The Conference Board of Associated Research Councils for those wishing to teach, lecture or offer technical instruction in connection with institutions of higher learning or to pursue studies and research abroad at the post-doctoral level. The Conference Board will also screen applicants for teaching positions in American elementary and secondary schools abroad. For discharging this responsibility, the Conference Board has established a Committee on International Exchange of Persons with offices at the National Academy of Sciences Building, Washington, D. C. All inquiries concerning the exchange of professors, lecturers, specialists, and research scholars at the post-doctoral level, and inquiries concerning opportunities for teaching in American primary and secondary schools abroad including requests for application forms should be addressed to the Executive Secretary, Committee on International Exchange of Persons, Conference Board of Associated Research

Councils, 2101 Constitution Avenue, Washington 25, D. C. Inquiries relating to graduate student exchanges should be addressed to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y. All inquiries relating to national primary and secondary school teaching should be addressed to the Office of Education, 4th and Independence Ave. S.W., Washington, D. C. Inquiries relating to exchanges other than those concerned with the Fulbright Act should be addressed to the Division of International Exchange of Persons, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C."

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1948-49 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Robert Sabatino Lopez, Yale University, a study of the history of the guilds of southern European manufacturers of coins from the fourth to the fifteenth century; Warren Candler Scoville, University of California, a study of the effects upon French industry and economic life of the persecution and migration of the Huguenots before and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; Joseph Kinsey Howard, Great Falls, Montana, the preparation of a book on the *métis* or "halfbreed nation" of the northwestern United States and western Canada; Samuel Edmund Thorne, Yale University, a study of the Court of Chancery and the Court of Star Chamber during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with special emphasis upon the transition from medieval to modern law; George Francis Gilman Stanley, University of British Columbia, a study of governmental policy toward the Canadian Indian; Jean-Albert Bédé, Columbia University, a study of the year 1848 in Europe, with particular attention to France, and the writing of a biography of this significant year in the history of our times; William Farr Church, Brown University, a study of political thought in seventeenth century France; David Harris Willson, University of Minnesota, the preparation of a biography of James I, king of England and Scotland; Louis Morton Hacker, Columbia University, a study of the American post-Civil War generation, 1865-1900, in industrial and intellectual terms; Antonio Pace, Syracuse University, the preparation of a book on Benjamin Franklin and Italy; Engel Sluiter, University of California, a study of Dutch-Iberian colonial rivalry in the seventeenth century; Louise Adams Holland, Bryn Mawr College, the preparation of a book to be entitled "Janus and Vesta," being a study of two fundamental Roman cults on the basis of the topography, climatic conditions, and of the needs of the primitive city of Rome; Theodor E. Mommsen, Princeton University, the preparation of a book on Petrarch's historical works and ideas; Charles Calvert Bayley, McGill University, a study of the consolidation of the College of Electors in Germany in the fourteenth century; William K. Frankena, University of Michigan, the preparation of a work on the history of ethical thought and moral philosophy in Great Britain and the United States; Wing-tsit Chan, Dartmouth College, the preparation of a book on Neo-Confucianism in China from the eleventh to the twentieth century; Horst Woldemar Janson, Washington Univer-



sity, St. Louis, the preparation of a book on the works of Donatello; Charles de Tolnay, Institute for Advanced Study, the preparation of a monograph on the life and work of Michelangelo in the period 1534-1564; Hugh Sinclair Morrison, Dartmouth College, the preparation of a history of American architecture, from the colonial period to the present; Norman Holmes Pearson, Yale University, the preparation of an edition of the letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne; John Collins Pope, Yale University, the preparation of a history of the Anglo-Saxon period of English literature; Arnold Williams, Michigan State College, a study of the intellectual background of fourteenth century English literature; Ada Blanche Nisbet, University of California, a study of trends in the social and intellectual relations between England and America in the early Victorian period; Herbert Dieckmann, Washington University, St. Louis, the preparation of a book on the development and structure of Diderot's thought; Francis James Carmody, University of California, studies in the history of Arabic astronomy in the Middle Ages; Ruth Josephine Dean, Mt. Holyoke College, the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of Anglo-Norman manuscripts in Europe and North America.

The Committee on Research in Economic History has awarded six national fellowships in that subject for the academic year 1948-49. They have been given to John H. Dales, A.B. Toronto University, and now a candidate for the doctor's degree at Harvard, for preliminary work upon his doctoral dissertation "The Development of Hydroelectric Power in Canada"; Robert B. Johnson, A.B. Virginia Union University and A.M. Michigan, and candidate for the doctor's degree at Minnesota, for his study of the relation of government to economic enterprise in Virginia between 1750 and 1820; Harold C. Passer, A.B. Harvard, who is candidate for the doctor's degree at that university, for research on the entrepreneurial aspects in the development of the electrical manufacturing industry; Jelle C. Riemersma, M.S. University of Delft, a candidate for the doctor's degree at the University of California at Berkeley, for the study of economic theory and early modern economic history, and for preliminary work upon his doctor's thesis relative to the influence of Calvinism upon the development of Dutch commercial cities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Robert R. Staley, M.S. California Institute of Technology, M.A. Stanford, a graduate student at Stanford, for study in economic theory and American history, and for preliminary work on the subject of the relations of government to economic enterprise in colonial Pennsylvania; and Clarence L. Ver Steeg, A.B. Morningside College, A.M. Columbia, a candidate for the doctor's degree at Columbia, for work in statistics and sociology and as aid toward the completion of his doctoral dissertation upon the office of superintendent of finance as an institution affecting the conduct of the Revolutionary War and the development of the economy. Recent grants of the committee include one to Professor Clarence H. Danhof of Princeton to aid in his study of the entrepreneurial aspects of American agriculture in the period between 1820 and 1880, and

one to Professor Harry H. Pierce of Syracuse University to assist him in his collection of data upon the support given by local communities in New York in the financing of railroad enterprises of that state.

The University of Wisconsin has set up a committee on the study of American civilization which is supported by funds from the humanities division of the Rockefeller Foundation. The committee is sponsoring a series of studies in the biographical, political, economic, and cultural history of the state and of the region of which it is a part. Postdoctoral grants are available for people who are engaged in such studies and who would like to utilize the facilities of the University of Wisconsin libraries and of the State Historical Society Library. The committee invites proposals from interested scholars. Correspondence should be addressed to Professor Merrill Jensen, Chairman of the Committee on the Study of American Civilization, Bascom Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison 5.

The graduate school of Harvard University has announced a fellowship in American history to be supported by the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association. The object is to stimulate research on the life of Theodore Roosevelt. The fellowship is open to any student who at the time of application is enrolled as a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Harvard. The maximum award is \$1,000 and is available for the year 1949-50.

The Society of Colonial Wars in the state of New York is sponsoring an annual historical essay contest to stimulate interest in the American colonial period. The contest is open to any citizen of the United States, and essays must be based on material of historical value not hitherto published. Entries will be accepted until December 31, 1948; further particulars may be obtained from the Society, 122 East 58th Street, New York 22, New York.

In implementation of its policy of developing in the United States a more thorough understanding of the peoples of the Middle East, the Middle East Institute has established an advanced training program under which a limited number of fellowships will be made available to properly qualified candidates of American nationality. These fellowships include cost of tuition in addition to subsistence stipends of \$2,400 per year for periods of one, two, or three years of intensive study of the Middle East at the School of Advanced International Studies and other appropriate graduate institutions. Candidates must be college graduates of not more than twenty-eight years of age with logical interest in the area. Application forms will be sent to those interested by the Executive Secretary, The Middle East Institute, 1906 Florida Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D. C.

Edgar E. Robinson, Margaret Byrne professor of American history in Stanford University, has the unusual honor of having a newly endowed chair named for him. A legacy of \$125,000 from the estate of Mrs. May T. Morrison, matched with

an equal amount by friends of Stanford University, will support the Edgar E. Robinson professorship of United States history to be filled, the announcement says, "by an outstanding scholar and a wise teacher devoted to teaching the responsibilities of American citizenship and the intrinsic merits of the American system of government."

Theses topics, either doctor's or master's, in the field of Canadian history would be welcomed by the editor of the *Canadian Historical Review*, University of Toronto, Canada. This request covers theses completed within the year or in progress. The complete list will be published in the near future.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Arthur M. Schlesinger, sr., will leave for the Netherlands in September to spend the academic year 1948-1949 at the University of Leyden in order to introduce instruction in American history.

St. George Leakin Sioussat, who has been the chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and incumbent of the William Evarts Benjamin Chair of American History since 1938, retired March 31. During the decade of his leadership the division has added greatly to its riches and Dr. Sioussat's scholarship and kindly interest have further enhanced its value to the seeking scholar. Dr. Sioussat will still be available as an adviser, upon request, in Study Room 172 of the Annex. Personal mail should be sent to 6309 Connecticut Avenue, Chevy Chase 15, Maryland.

Thomas P. Martin, assistant chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, resigned in April after twenty years of service. In this period his extensive knowledge of the resources of the division was constantly available to a wide diversity of scholarly users.

Solon Justus Buck, Archivist of the United States since 1941, resigned in April to accept appointment as chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Dr. Buck's service in the Archives began in 1935. His thirteen years of service have been marked by emphasis upon effective organization and the creation of a staff trained in the new field, in the United States, of archival economy. His successor, Wayne Grover, is a product of this training and was acting archivist recently while Dr. Buck was on a mission to Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

Fred W. Shipman, director of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library since its establishment, has transferred to the National Security Resources Board to serve as assistant director in research.

Miss Helen Maud Cam, well known for her work in the field of English constitutional history, has been appointed to a full professorship by Harvard and Radcliffe College. Miss Cam will enter on her new duties in the fall of 1948.

The well known archaeologist and authority on the civilization of ancient Greece, David M. Robinson, of the Johns Hopkins University (1905-48), has been appointed professor of classics and archaeology at the University of Mississippi. He will also teach courses in Greek and Roman history.

James Heyworth-Dunne, the English scholar, whose special field is the Middle East, has accepted a call from the Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., to direct graduate students in his chosen field. He brings with him his personal library of 20,000 volumes.

Henry Cord Meyer of the department of history, Pomona College, will spend the summer in Europe gathering material for his study of the idea of *Mitteleuropa* in Germany and Austria during the First World War. On invitation of OMGUS he will lecture in Heidelberg University, July 24 to August 13.

Ralph V. Harlow has resigned as chairman of the history department at Syracuse University and will retire from active service after a year's leave of absence on account of his health. W. Freeman Galpin will succeed him as chairman of the department.

Oswald H. Wedel has been appointed head of the department of history and political science in the University of Arizona. Dr. Wedel succeeds Howard A. Hubbard, who has reached the age of retirement after thirty-six years of service. He will remain on the staff on half-time service.

Garrett Mattingly has severed his connection with the Cooper Union to accept a chair in the department of history in Columbia University.

Julius W. Pratt of the University of Buffalo will serve as visiting professor of history in the summer session of the University of Maryland.

Visiting lecturers for the summer quarter of 1948 at the University of Colorado are Harold W. Bradley, professor of history and dean of the graduate school, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, California; Otakar Odlozilik, professor of history, Charles University, Prague; Arthur P. Whitaker, professor and head of the department of history, University of Pennsylvania.

William H. Maehl of De Paul University, Chicago, has been granted leave until December to collect in western Europe material bearing on the history of the German Social Democrats in the period 1914-33.

Vera Brown Holmes of Smith College, Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina, and Gordon H. McNeil of Coe College are teaching in the department of history of the University of New Mexico during the summer session.

Reginald C. McGrane will succeed Beverley W. Bond, jr., as head of the department of history in the University of Cincinnati on August 1.

Burr C. Brundage has been appointed permanent head of the department of history, government, and economics at Cedar Crest College, Allentown, Pennsylvania, succeeding Florence Edler de Roover, who has given up administrative duties in order to find more time for public lecturing.

Dorothy Burne Goebel has been promoted to professor of history, Dorothy Ganfield Fowler and Georgiana P. McEntee to associate professors of history, and George Waskovich to assistant professor of history in Hunter College.

W. Ross Livingston has been promoted to the rank of professor of history in the State University of Iowa.

Glenn N. Sisk has been appointed full professor and acting head of the new department of social science at the Georgia Institute of Technology.

Reginald Ivan Lovell has been appointed acting professor of history in the University of Washington.

Milton E. Muelder has been granted leave of absence to return to Berlin for another tour of duty with Military Government. He returned to his post at Michigan State College in September, 1947, after duty with the Military Government in Europe from January, 1944, until August, 1947.

R. John Rath, formerly of the University of Georgia, has been appointed associate professor of history and Robert G. Athearn of the University of Minnesota has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Colorado.

G. R. Johnson has been promoted to associate professor of history in the University of New Hampshire.

Peter Viereck has been appointed associate professor of history in Mount Holyoke College.

Colin R. Lovell, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of modern European history in the University of Southern California.

Arthur S. Link has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Princeton University.

Charles A. Johnson and Richard Lowitt have been appointed instructors in American civilization in the University of Maryland.

George M. Waller has been appointed instructor in history in Amherst College.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Troyer Steele Anderson, chairman of the department of history at Hunter College, died April 3 at the age of forty-seven. He was born in Minneapolis where his father, Professor Frank M. Anderson, emeritus professor of history at Dartmouth College, was then a member of the staff of the University of Minnesota. Dr. Troyer Anderson graduated from Dartmouth in 1922 and took his master's degree at Harvard the next year. As a Rhodes scholar, he took a second bachelor's degree and his Ph.D. at Oxford University. He taught in Brown University from 1926 to 1928, Swarthmore College from 1928 to 1942. After three years as professor of modern European history at the University of Iowa and service from 1944 to 1946 in the Historical Division of the Army and as special consultant to the Secretary of War, he accepted a call to Hunter College in New York City. His volume on *The Command of the Howe Brothers during the American Revolution* was hailed by scholars as a definitive work. Dr. Anderson's studies on the last war were well towards completion when he was stricken with the illness that ended in his death. The fortitude with which he carried on in the face of death was the measure of his rare spirit. Dr. Anderson was a life member of this Association, a contributor to its review pages, and had served on the editorial board of the *Journal of Modern History*. Special memorial services were held for Dr. Anderson at Swarthmore on Sunday, April 11, and at Hunter College on Monday, April 12.

George A. Washburne, who retired recently from the chairmanship of the department of history in Ohio State University, died suddenly on May 11 just as he was about to give an address to an alumni group. He was in his sixty-third year. A native of Ohio, he graduated from Ohio State in 1907 and in 1923 received the doctor's degree from Columbia University. Except for three years (1915-1918) in the public schools of Columbus, his years as a teacher had been spent in the service of his alma mater, where he was advanced to a full professorship in 1927. His services as a teacher and administrator were appreciated by his students and his colleagues. In 1923 he published a volume on *Imperial Control of the Administration of Justice in the Thirteen Colonies*. He had been a member of this Association for many years and served usefully on its committees.

William W. Eddy, fifty-eight, associate professor of history and a member of the Lafayette College faculty since 1923, died of a heart attack on February 18. Professor Eddy was a graduate of Dwight School, New York City, 1907; Princeton University, 1911; and received his master of arts degree at Harvard. Before he

came to Lafayette, he taught at the American University of Beirut, Syria (of which his grandfather was the founder), Princeton, and the University of Washington. He was a member of the American Historical Association, Pennsylvania Historical Association, and the American Association of University Professors. Surviving are his mother and brother. He had in progress a book on *The French Protectorate in Syria under Louis XIV*. Admired and liked by his colleagues, Professor Eddy was devoted to his duties as a teacher and instilled in his students a love and respect for history.

Kharaiti Ram Samras, historian in the service of the Department of State, died April 11 in his forty-fourth year. Born in the Punjab, India, Dr. Samras was educated in California, receiving his doctor's degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1934. Much of his writing and lecturing was in the field of philosophy, but he had contributed articles in history and left the manuscript of a book on India's constitutional development to 1947. He joined this Association in June, 1947.

## Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor A. C. Krey in an interesting and well-written article which appeared in the *American Historical Review* has developed the thesis "that the union of the Latin and Greek churches was one of the impelling motives in the call for the First Crusade."<sup>1</sup> After citing the letters which Urban II addressed to the assembling crusaders as evidence in support of this thesis, Krey adds:

Other items of evidence to this effect may likewise be drawn from the fact that Urban had already established a record of friendly relations with Emperor Alexius long before Clermont. Furthermore, part of the correspondence of the emperor with the abbot of Monte Cassino has survived, and its tone is also one of friendly co-operation. More significant perhaps, was the action of Urban in sending military aid, however small, in response to the emperor's request, in 1092. This action, as well as the presence of the envoys of Alexius at the Council of Piacenza, about which we know too little, must be counted as important evidence in establishing the probability of some friendly understanding between Urban and Alexius before the First Crusade.

In making the statement that "Urban had already established a record of friendly relations with Emperor Alexius long before Clermont," Professor Krey no doubt had in mind a number of official documents which had been published in 1928 by Walther Holtzmann.<sup>2</sup> Further analysis of these documents goes far to substantiate his thesis, at least that part of it which maintains that there was some "friendly understanding between Urban and Alexius before the First Crusade."

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade—Success or Failure," *American Historical Review*, LIII (1948), 235–50.

<sup>2</sup> Walther Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II im Jahre 1089," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVIII (1928), 38–67. Three of the documents published by Holtzmann had already appeared in 1877. See E. Boulismas, "Nicholas Grammatikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Anti-popes Urban and Clement," *Attikion Hemerologion of the Year 1877* [in Greek], XI (Athens, 1877), 323–36.



It is for this reason that I have undertaken to analyze two of these documents, the most important of the whole group.

One of these documents is a record of the deliberations and decisions of a synod which was held in Constantinople in September, 1089.<sup>3</sup> The synod was attended by the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Antioch, eighteen metropolitans, and two archbishops, and was presided over by Alexius. The reason for calling it was the receipt by Alexius of a letter from Urban II in which the pope urged the establishment of peace and harmony in the church, complained that the papal name had been removed from the holy diptychs of the church of Constantinople without canonical justification and made the request that it be put back again. Alexius was well disposed to the pope and considered it necessary to work for peace.

When the synod met, Alexius submitted to it the papal proposal, asked for the documents attesting to the separation of Rome from Constantinople, and inquired whether it was because of these documents that the papal name had been removed from the diptychs of the church of Constantinople. The ecclesiastics present replied that no such documents existed, but that there were between the two churches important differences of a canonical nature which it was necessary to regulate. Alexius then expressed the view that, since there was no official record of the separation of Rome from Constantinople, the papal name had been uncanonically removed from the diptychs and it should be put back. To this the ecclesiastics replied that too much time had elapsed since the removal of the papal name from the diptychs to put it back before the elimination of the objections which they had against the Latins. The synod, with Alexius agreeing, finally reached the following compromise:

Urban II should first of all send to Constantinople his profession of faith. If the pope's profession of faith were found to be sound, if he accepted the seven ecumenical councils and the local synods which the latter had approved, if he condemned the heretics and the errors which the church condemned, and if he respected and accepted the holy canons which the fathers of the church adopted at the sixth ecumenical council, then his name would be put back in the diptychs of the church of Constantinople. This arrangement was to be temporary, pending the holding of a council in Constantinople which was to regulate and eliminate the differences between the two churches. This council was to be held within eighteen months after the receipt of the papal profession of faith and was to be attended either by a papal delegate or the pope himself. The synod urged the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem to accept this compromise.

The second important document published by Holtzmann is a message which Nicholas III, the patriarch of Constantinople, sent to Urban II in September, 1089.<sup>4</sup> In this message the patriarch expressed his joy over the receipt of the papal letter, apparently the letter which Urban had sent to Alexius requesting that his name be re-entered in the diptychs. He was pained to hear, however, that he had been represented to the pope as ill disposed toward the Latins and that he excluded them from the churches. The Latins, he declared, were free to enter the churches and to celebrate their religious services, and he was aware that the same freedom was enjoyed by the Greeks of southern Italy. But the pope would have acted well if he had sent him, as was the custom of old, the announcement of his elevation to the papal see together with his profession of faith. He could still do it however.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 62-64.

The patriarch himself desired with all his heart the unity of the church. Urban might send his profession of faith either with Basil of Calabria (metropolitan of Reggio) and Romanus, archbishop of Rhousianon, who had been sent to him by the patriarch, or by a person of his own choosing.

It is not definitely known what the reaction of Urban II was. There is some evidence that he accepted the compromise offered to him by Alexius and the Byzantine clergy. It is known from Malaterra, for instance, that Urban was urged by Count Roger to go to Constantinople and that he was prevented from doing so by the conditions in Rome.<sup>5</sup> And Bernold writes under the year 1091 that with the exception of the kingdom of the Germans "all the Catholics, the emperor of Constantinople as well as the king of France, Philip, the ecclesiastical princes as well as the seigneurs of the various countries, venerated the pope Urban."<sup>6</sup> "It seems," writes Grumel on the basis of the testimony of these two Latin chronicles, "that the pope sent the *συστατική* [profession of faith] which had been asked of him, and thus realized the first part of the program for the union."<sup>7</sup> Jugie is more categorical. "After more than sixty years of interruption," he writes, "the name of the bishop of Rome was again proclaimed in the great church of Constantinople, and the communion with the Latins, whose closed churches were reopened, was provisionally reestablished."<sup>8</sup>

Jugie's statement is perhaps too categorical,<sup>9</sup> as there is no direct and definite evidence in its support, but there can be no doubt that Urban was very much interested in, and tried hard to bring about, the union of the churches. This is quite clear from the two documents analyzed above, but there is additional evidence. This is a letter which the patriarch of Constantinople addressed to the patriarch of Jerusalem in an effort to counteract the moves of Urban. The letter in question is without title, signature, date, or address, but Grumel produced sufficient evidence in support of his view that it was written in 1089 by the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas III, to Symeon II, patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> In this letter the patriarch of Constantinople defends the position of the Greek church on the question of the *Filioque*, the azymes and the primacy of the papacy, and alludes to a letter which the pope had sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem in which he expressed the desire for the unity of the churches, urging that there should be one head for the church, and the pope of Rome, as the successor of Peter, should be that head.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the union of the churches was one of the most impelling motives of Urban II. In addition to the evidence which Professor Krey emphasizes, this is also shown by Urban's correspondence with Alexius and the deliberations among the Byzantine clergy as well as by his correspondence with the patriarch of Jerusalem. And it seems more than probable that at least a provisional agreement concerning the union was reached between Urban and Alexius. But the realization of the union on a permanent basis was a much more difficult

<sup>5</sup> Geoffrey Malaterra, *Historia Sicula*, MPL, CXLIX, 1192.

<sup>6</sup> Bernold, *Chronicon*, *Monumenta Germanicae Historica: Scriptores*, V:450.

<sup>7</sup> V. Grumel, "Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance: Une lettre inconnue du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III à son collègue de Jérusalem (vers 1089)," *Echos d'Orient*, XXXVIII (1939), 115.

<sup>8</sup> M. Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantine* (Paris, 1941), p. 242.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek historian Amantos also accepts the view that the name of the pope was re-entered in the diptychs of the church of Constantinople. C. I. Amantos, *History of the Byzantine Empire* [in Greek], II (Athens, 1947), 311.

<sup>10</sup> Grumel, *op. cit.*

task. Besides the obstacles which the behavior of some of the leaders of the First Crusade, notably Bohemond, created, there were the objections of the Byzantine clergy. For the crucial point, the fundamental difference between the two churches was the primacy of Rome, and on that the Byzantine clergy, as is shown by the attitude of the patriarch of Constantinople, were in no mood to compromise.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I hope you will let me make a few observations on a review by Professor Jim Dan Hill (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1948, p. 574) of *The Organization of Ground Combat Troops*, written during the war by Kent Roberts Greenfield, Bell I. Wiley and myself, and recently published by the Department of the Army as the first of its projected series of official volumes on World War II. The personal element I will merely mention. The idea that Greenfield, Wiley and I spent three years in composing flatteries of General McNair is so ridiculous that I feel certain it will not be believed. The reviewer's attack on General McNair is so transparently ill-tempered that I assume it to arise from some obscure need in his own background. These are not the basic issues.

The historical public has not been well served by this review. The reviewer gives no idea of the purpose or possible usefulness of this volume or of the series of which it is to form a part. He believes it would have been better to publish documents only, as was done for the Civil War. This is a defensible belief; but he should note that the mass of documents is so incomparably greater for World War II as to constitute an altogether different problem, and he should add that for World War I neither documents nor official histories, in significant proportions, were ever published at all. He finds it useless to devote so much time to matters of organization, mobilization and training. These are precisely the aspects of our national military problem in which accurate historical knowledge can be of great practical value. He refers to General McNair as a "book soldier" with "little or no combat experience." Which of our professional soldiers had enough combat experience in 1940 and 1941? Let us hope that the United States Army may always go into war "without combat experience," *i.e.*, that our wars may always be at least a generation apart. It is a peculiarity of the military profession, under civilized conditions, that the soldier cannot normally practice his occupation, but must learn in large part from books, inappropriate though that may seem to Professor Hill. It was to provide such books, an exact record of what was done in World War II, in the interests of the future security of the United States, that the historical enterprise was initiated by the War Department in 1942. Other reviewers, at least as well qualified in military affairs, have come to a more discriminating judgment on the fruits of that enterprise. It is unfortunate that the chief professional journal of American historians conveys so inadequate an impression of one of the principal collective undertakings of American historians in the past few years.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It appears Dr. Palmer misinterprets an analysis as an attack. There is no attack upon General McNair. Dr. Palmer must have overlooked my statement that

"General McNair played a sufficiently important role in this war to merit a biography. . . . Ample valid material may be found to make it one of flattery." And certainly it is not slander upon any man to call him a book soldier. I have been called a book soldier many times and considered it a compliment. It is most likely that I hold General McNair personally in as high esteem as does Dr. Palmer. I most assuredly liked him. Liking a fellow soldier is a soldier's privilege, but glossing a historical record of achievement is not a historian's right.

Essentially, my criticisms are of the book, and I am sure that if Dr. Palmer will again read the review more dispassionately, he will appreciate that point. I am confident that if in 1953 he will again read his book, read my review and read his letter, he will see many faults in the book to which he is now passionately blind. And while my review may not improve with the years, I am quite sure he will in 1953 agree with me that both the book and the review are much better than his letter.

JIM DAN HILL,  
*Major General Commanding*  
*32nd Division, Wisconsin*

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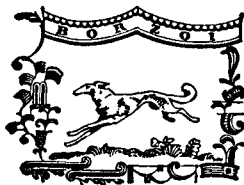
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